

THE LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR -
CHILDREN, STATE AND SOCIETY, TASMANIA, 1896 - 1920

VICKI F. PEARCE B.A.

Submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honours

University of Tasmania
Hobart
1983

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university, and, to the best of my knowledge or belief, the thesis contains no copy or paraphrase of material previously published or written by any other person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

.....
Vicki F. Pearce B.A.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

Illustrations

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2 - IN THE INTEREST OF THE COMMUNITY	20
CHAPTER 3 - AN AGE OF CHILD WORSHIP	37
CHAPTER 4 - A NAME NOT FIT FOR A DOG TO BE CALLED	60
CHAPTER 5 - <u>THE QUALITY OF MERCY</u>	81
Tables	103
Diagram	115
Graphs	116
Appendices	118
Bibliography	152

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without the support and faith of my family and friends this thesis would not have been possible.

I would like to thank Ian Pearce who uncomplainingly proof read the thesis. Emese Underwood who assisted with and proof read the tables and graphs, I gratefully thank. I would also like to express my sincere appreciation of the patience and skills of Patricia Dovadola who so ably typed the manuscript.

I would like to record my appreciation of the inspiration given me by the late Malcolm Mc Rae.

My thanks also go to Dr Kay Daniels for her advice and assistance in the preparation of this thesis.

I would also like to thank the following people and institutions for their support and help:

Professor R.B. Rose
Dusanka Sabic
Peggy Pearce
Kati Thomson
Archives Office of Tasmania
Morris Miller Library, University of Tasmania.
Robyn Hopcroft

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Page 8 "ORPHANED AND DESTITUTE CHILDREN WERE SENT TO ORPHANAGES OR INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS".
(Tasmanian Mail, 1 January 1910).
- Page 15 "SEASONABLE WORK AMONG THE HOBART POOR - A HEALTHY GROUP OF GIRLS AFTER DINNER".
(Tasmanian Mail, 24 July 1909).
- Page 16 "SEASONABLE WORK AMONG THE HOBART POOR - YOUTHS WHO ARE WELL WORTH LOOKING AFTER".
(Tasmanian Mail, 24 July 1909).
- Page 36 "MRS HENRY DOBSON AND MRS T.C. HODGMAN".
(Tasmanian Mail, 22 April 1905).
- Page 45 "THE PATRONAGE OF THE GOVERNOR'S WIFE WAS ESSENTIAL".
(Tasmanian Mail, 4 December 1909).
- Page 48 "THE BOARDING OUT SCHEME WAS EVOLVED TO CORRECT THE EVILS OF INSTITUTIONAL CARE".
(Tasmanian Mail, 26 December 1912).
- Page 50 "THE MINISTERING CHILDRENS LEAGUE RECRUITED MIDDLE CLASS CHILDREN INTO CHARITABLE ACTIVITY".
(Tasmanian Mail, 22 April 1905).
- Page 71 EXAMPLE OF POLICE OFFICER'S REPORT ON AN APPRENTICED CHILD, 19 December 1901. (SWD L/1/14).
- Page 84 EXAMPLE OF CASES HEARD IN THE CHILDRENS COURT BEFORE MAGISTRATE WISE, 17 November 1909 (LC 256/1).
- Page 85 EXAMPLE OF CASES HEARD IN THE CHILDRENS COURT BEFORE MAGISTRATE EDWARDS, 22 July 1925 (LC 256/2).
- Page 92 "THE CHILDRENS COURT IN SYDNEY".
(The Lone Hand, Vol. VII, May - October 1910).
- Page 100 "KENNERLY BOYS HOME FETE, 1910".
(Tasmanian Mail, 1 December 1910).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A velvet paw of tenderest benevolence for those
who accept our help....A claw sharp as steel for
those who rebel.

Henry Solly
Outcast London, p.260.

This thesis investigates the relationship between the State and destitute, neglected children, and youthful offenders in the period 1895 to 1920 in Tasmania.

The thesis, using a wide range of primary source material which until recently has been overlooked by historians reveals how the State penetrates the private sphere in prescriptive and proscriptive ways in structuring the lives of people.¹ Further, the documents clearly illustrate the class nature of Tasmanian society at Federation and reveal structures and practices of oppression which were the basis of the interaction between privileged men and women and working class children and their families.

The thesis aims to investigate children in a way which places children back into history rather than creating a history of children. Children have always been of concern to the State; with women they have constituted the largest group of welfare recipients since the

1. M. Barbelet, Far From a Low Gutter Girl, (Melb. 1983) explores the files of the South Australian State Children's Department to write about the experiences of state wards in that State. K. Daniels and M. Murnane, Uphill All the Way, (Q'land, 1980) present documents which reveal women actively resisting oppression in pre-political and political ways. B. Duning, "Being Poor and Female in Western Australia", Hecate, Vol.3, No.2., wishing to address the imbalance in historical writing, explores the nature of letters from destitute women petitioning for charitable assistance in colonial Western Australia.

beginning of settlement. Special agencies have been established in every State, which have the right to assume guardianship over certain children. The continued existence of 'State' children is ample evidence of the need to record their trials and tribulations. In 1981 there were over 20,000 children under State guardianship in Australia.² The experiences of this group of children will provide a further dimension to the social history of Tasmania at Federation.

Because the thesis aims to bring to centre stage the experiences of 'welfare' children set in a broad landscape of social history, it explores a number of other questions which lead to a more complete understanding of the nature of Tasmanian society in the period under scrutiny.

During the debate on the care of 'welfare' children contemporary ideologies reveal the way in which children and childhood are perceived in this period and how these ideas are translated into social policy and its institutions. The documents reveal a complex of ideas about children's sexuality which in turn determine the way children were managed when they entered the care of the State.

The documents reveal the intimate relationship between the Church and the State as mutual agents of the moralizing of the working class and show how both are mutually involved with philanthropic groups which are an integral part of the services dealing with 'welfare' children and which attempt to influence the legislative wing of the State.

The high status which is accorded to influential women in the voluntary philanthropic groups throughout colonial times is also observed in Tasmania around the turn of the century. The implications

2. Barbelet, ibid., p.ix

of this activity for these women and their relationship to women and children in other social classes is explored.

The period under investigation is one during which the provision of public services became increasingly sophisticated. This period saw the growth of a more professional bureaucracy but it will be shown however that within the State bureaucracy the welfare of children was accorded a low priority reflected in both the changing organizational structures experienced by the Neglected Children Department and in the very limited commitment by successive governments in funding the Department's work.

Finally the files of the children who came under the care of the State are a window onto the lives of working class families both through the judgmental language of the inspecting officers, departmental officers, and police and through the correspondence of children, their families, and carers. These documents reveal the conditions under which many families attempted to survive, the work they undertook, the way children were seen in working class families and the resistance individuals mounted against the intrusion of the State and its agents into their lives.

The period chosen for the thesis is framed by two Acts of Parliament, The Youthful Offenders, Destitute and Neglected Children Act of 1896 and the Act which consolidated and amended the 1896 Act, The Childrens Charter which was enacted in 1918.³

The 1896 Legislation was a voluminous piece of legislation which amalgamated a number of separate acts dealing with the care and retention of neglected children and youthful offenders. It created a

3. Youthful Offenders and Neglected Children Act, 1896, 60 Vict. No.24.
Childrens Charter, 1918, 9 Geo.V. No.15

Neglected Children Department within the Chief Secretary's Office. It invested in that department the right of guardianship and the right of delegation of that guardianship over certain children.

The 1918 Childrens Charter is popularly held to be the beginning of modern child welfare legislation in Tasmania and is hailed as the beginning of a new humanitarian era in the management of neglected children. However it is contended that the 1896 Act created the Neglected Children Department which is in fact the precursor of the modern day Department of Community Welfare. The amending legislation which was passed in 1905 in fact established the Childrens Courts which had been seen as the creation of the 1918 Act.⁴ While the 1918 legislation finally removed the punishment of children by hanging and the removal of prison sentences for children under 18 years of age for summary offences, in fact, many of the features of the legislation extended the power of the State to intervene in people's lives. It extended the definition of 'neglect' and increased the range of relatives who could be made liable to accept responsibility for a child who had been taken into the care of the Department.⁵

The period covers the consolidation of the State's role in social legislation and the creation of government departments to this end. Further, Federal initiatives were few in this period. It is during the 1920s that State/Federal relationships began to reshape the domestic economy, thus providing another dimension to the care of children and placing it outside the scope of this thesis.

4. Youthful Offenders and Neglected Children Act, 1905, 5 Edw.VII No.39.

5. Maintenance claims were made by the State against the father, or mother, stepfather or stepmother, for the care of a committed child in 1896. In 1918 the claims were expanded to include brothers, sisters, and grandparents. (Pt.VI, Sect. 87.)

Until the beginning of the 1920s Federal legislation had little impact on the social and economic life of Tasmanians. The 1912 one-off maternity allowance, the 'Baby Bonus' was the only pre-war universal benefit provided by the Commonwealth. This was aimed at minimizing the formidable hazards of childbirth.⁶ Later as the Commonwealth became more involved in social legislation a Children's Bureau was established in 1912 but the impact of its work was not fully felt until 1919 when it began to publish research on all areas of child life.⁷ The impact on the loss of life through trench warfare in World War One led to the introduction of a non-contributory war widows pension in 1914.⁸ There was, however, no economic aid provided as a right during this period which would have helped to hold families together. The 1910 Tasmanian Interstate Destitute Persons Act⁹ was passed to facilitate the tracking down of fathers and the collection of maintenance payments. It was notoriously unsuccessful.¹⁰ Further, the implementation of the Act relied on signed agreements between the States and in the case of Tasmania there was no reciprocal agreement with New South Wales in relation to the collection of maintenance. Thus many women and children were without financial support,¹¹ and the 'basic' wage agreements remained 'fragile' until the 1920s.¹² Thus during this period both State and Federal governments' support was

6. J. Roe, "Women and Welfare Since 1901", Women, Social Welfare and the State, (Sydney, 1983), p.7.

7. S. Tiffin, "In Pursuit of Reluctant Parents", What Rough Beast, (Sydney, 1982) p. 148. The Children's Bureau, though hampered by paltry annual appropriations, was empowered to research and disseminate information on all areas of child life.

8. Roe, op.cit., p. 9.

9. Interstate Destitute Persons Act 1910, I.Geo.V, No. 55.

10. Tiffin, op.cit., pp. 142-144.

11. AOT, LC 256/2/17.

12. Roe, op.cit., p. 6.

virtually non-existent and families continued, in times of destitution, to rely on benevolent outdoor relief in Tasmania unless they were protected by their membership in a Friendly Society.

In 1920 other legislation was enacted which was to change the manner in which children who came into the care of the State were treated. This included The Adoption of Children Act, 1920 and the Mental Deficiency Act 1920.¹³ These Acts consolidated trends beginning in 1916 when children began to be segregated and classified by means other than neglect, destitution, and criminality. This process began in response to the resolutions passed at the inaugural conference for 'Suggesting the mode of caring of children who are mentally defective' in November 1916. This conference resolved that 'arrangements be instigated for those cases needing immediate attention to be transferred to the Mental ~~Deficiency~~ Hospital under the care of Dr Morris'.¹⁴

The shift in viewpoint from that which considered children as 'hereditary paupers' to that which led to their being increasingly classified by medical and psychological categories goes beyond the scope of this thesis but the period beyond 1920 will be examined to see the impact of the 1918 Childrens Charter especially in relation to the co-option by the State of the voluntary agencies which had actively campaigned for the Charter's enactment. With the creation of honorary positions such as special children's magistrates and

13. Adoption of Children Act 1920, 11.Geo.V. No. 5. Mental Deficiency Act 1920, LL.Geo.V. No. 55.

14. AOT, CSD22/132/52/7/18. The members of the committee were; Dr Morris (ch.), Messrs S. Clemes, Harley Hawson, C.F. Seager, D.W. Addison.

probation officers, this group's absorption into agents of the State can also be examined.

Before the Neglected Children Act consolidated public measures for the welfare of children through the creation of the Neglected Children Department, a number of Select Committees and Royal Commissions relating to the care of orphaned and destitute children, and youthful offenders were convened between 1862 and 1888. Based on the provision for care established by the colonial government in the convict era institutional care for children was slowly redefined and attempts were made to both classify and segregate children into public or private institutions with differing functions. Orphaned and destitute children were sent to Orphanages and Industrial Schools whilst juvenile offenders were committed to Reformatories or Training Schools. This division was enacted in 1867 by the Industrial Schools Act and the Training Schools Act.¹⁵

Following the 1871 Royal Commission on charitable institutions the government sanctioned the placement of destitute and orphaned children into private homes with a small financial remuneration from the State General Revenue. This was facilitated by the Public Charities Act 1873. Known as the Boarding Out Scheme it has been acclaimed as a major break-through in the care of children. Brown, in her study of social welfare in colonial Tasmania, Poverty is Not a Crime, concludes that the period was one of improvement and progress in the care of children. She maintains that for children there was now a genuine concern not only for their 'work potential' but their personal happiness as well.¹⁶

15. R. Wettenhall, A Guide to Tasmanian Government Administration, (Hobart, 1968), pp. 204-206.

16. J. Brown, Poverty is Not a Crime, (Hobart, 1972), p. 150.

The same trends in legislation and the management of children were occurring throughout the Australian colonies. There was a shift away from providing care for children in large numbers in institutions to their placement in the homes of the 'respectable' poor. At the same time legislation was passed which created State departments which in turn became the guardians of these children. Attitudes about the criminality and treatment of juvenile offenders began to change and convicted children were now to be saved from contamination from mixing with hardened criminals in the colonies' gaols. At the same time there was an expansion of ideas about what constituted neglect which extended the States' power, and through legislative fiat, enabled the State to remove children, other than those totally destitute, from their families.

Catherine Spence, a most able propagandist for the achievement of colonial South Australia, dominated and influenced all colonies in the area of childrens services before and throughout most of the period under survey. In her book State Children she outlines the history of childrens' services in Australia to 1907 and, in the intercolonial conferences on charity in 1890 and 1891, and again in 1909 conference on Departmental children, she eloquently stated South Australia's primacy in the welfare of children.¹⁷

The major change in the organization of the care of children in South Australia was an outcome of the deliberations of the the Destitute Act Commission of 1883-5 which recommended that the care

17. C. Spence, State Children. (Adelaide, 1907); also Spence's speeches delivered to the 1st and 2nd Australasian Conferences on Charity [A/ACC] (Melbourne, 1890, 1891), and Dependent Children, The Interstate Congress of Workers [DCC], (Adelaide, 1909). See also Barbelet, op.cit., Ch. 8, passim.

of children be entirely separated from adult charitable relief and placed under a separate Board. It recommended improvements in the care, education and training of boys and girls in institutions, the adoption of the boarding out of children as the 'normal condition', and that 'adopted' children not be exempted from state 'surveillance'. The State was given the right to control children to 18 years of age with the power to extend this control to the age of 21. All these recommendations were put into practice by the newly created State Childrens Council in 1887. The recommendation to establish Juvenile Courts of Justice with the practice of probation, based on the Boston USA model, was implemented informally in 1890 and enacted in law in 1895.¹⁸

In 1881 boarding out was legislatively established as government policy in New South Wales. In 1896 the State Childrens Act was amended to allow the State to subsidise mothers to look after their own children and also created the State Childrens Relief Board. The 1905 Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act established a probationary system and special childrens courts.¹⁹

The Victorian Neglected Children's Department, extended by statute in 1887, embraced institutional and boarding out care, established juvenile courts, and adopted a probationary system based on the South Australian and Massachusetts model.²⁰

The Inspector of Orphanages was the head of the State department responsible for the care of children in Queensland. The 1896 Childrens Protection Act permitted the boarding out of children.

18. Spence, op.cit., passim.

19. B. Dickey, No Charity There, (Melb. 1980) pp. 127-132 and B. Gandevia, Tears Often Shed, (Sydney, 1978) ch.12, passim.

20. G. Guillaume, 'Neglected Children', A/ACC, pp. 102-109.

Legislation as encompassing as that of the other Australian states which expanded the definition of neglect and included the establishment of childrens courts was not passed until 1911.²¹

Western Australia did not separate out the administration of childrens services until 1907 when the State Childrens Act was passed. Until that time the Superintendent of Public Charities was also the Inspector of Industrial and Reformatory Schools which were seen as one department. Until 1907 there was a very limited definition of 'neglect' and no probationary system or childrens courts had been established. Boarding out, according to Spence, was rudimentary because of the difficulty in finding good family homes for the children.²²

Throughout the whole of the colonial period of Australian settlement philanthropic organizations played a major role in the provision of services for children. In the penal colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemens Land philanthropic committees were established to assist the state in the management of the orphanages and prisons. At the same time private charitable organizations became established in all the colonies and were funded by individual subscription and fund raising activities. State funds were at times provided. As the State assumed more control over services for children the associated philanthropic organizations were co-opted and became an integral part of the State machinery.²³

One thing however, remained constant throughout the entire

21. Spence, op.cit., pp. 124-126, and M. Bosworth, 'Protection or Abuse', In Pursuit of Justice, op.cit., pp. 244-246.

22. Spence, op.cit., pp. 127-128.

23. E. Windschuttle, 'Feeding the Poor and Sapping their Strength', Women, Class and History, (Melb., 1980), pp. 53-72.

period of colonial Australia and into the the first three decades of this century. This was that the children who came under the care of both public and private charity were to be trained to be 'honest and tractable workers and servants' who were to be convinced that 'the lowest departments of labour may be rendered honourable by industry and uprightness'.²⁴

Behind the notion of training children to retain their low social status was the whole weight of English philanthropic thinking which was imported into colonial Australia from the time of the arrival of the first fleet onwards. Windschuttle, whose pioneering work on the role which women played in the philanthropic movement in Australia, identifies both the derivative nature of colonial philanthropic activity and the indigenous social situations within colonial Australia which gave rise to the adaptation of English philanthropic beliefs and practices. Windschuttle says of the early colonial philanthropists;

They were intent on moulding the morals and manners of society to their own design. They were part of the Anglican and Tory ruling class of the first 50 years of the colonies' founding. They derived their motivation from the evangelical revival in late eighteenth century England. In the social chaos wrought by industrialization, English evangelicals saw a drastic need to define a role for the large urban mass of unemployed and destitute....The evangelicals' main weapon of prevention was philanthropy which aimed to alleviate the destitution of the poor, spread moral propaganda among them and turned them into dutiful, industrious citizens.

In colonial New South Wales, the moral conditions of the lower classes of the penal settlement proved equally disturbing to the governing elite and they established institutions based on those in England.²⁵

24. ibid., p. 68.

25. E. Windschuttle, 'Women, Class and Temperance', The Push from the Bush, No. 3, May, 1979.

The condition of children in early colonial New South Wales caused grave concern to the colonial elite and the poverty and destitution of lower class women, and their inability to provide proper care for their children, led the philanthropists to define these misfortunes as 'neglect' or sometimes 'abandonment'.²⁶ The philanthropist response was to establish institutions so as to be able to remove the children from the 'pernicious' moral influence of their parents, in 'quarantine' as it were, from the culture that their parents inhabited.²⁷

There were significant changes in the direction colonial philanthropic ideas took in the ensuing years but the aim of the philanthropic movement remained the same. As Harrison claimed in 'Philanthropy and the Victorians'; 'Their aim was not to accept working class attitudes; on the contrary, philanthropists were in the forefront of the nineteenth century attack on popular culture'.²⁸ However, the historian of welfare has yet to investigate thoroughly the changing ideology from 1850 to Federation in a manner similar to that undertaken by Stedman Jones in Outcast London.²⁹ Dickey's work, following on as it does from Windschuttle's research, whilst identifying the selective and narrowly personal application of charitable aid does not seek out the ideologies of the philanthropists of this period. This hampers Dickey's ability to expand his concept of social control.³⁰ Recently essays by Judith Godden,³¹

26. Windschuttle, 'Feeding the Poor...', op.cit., p. 66.

27. ibid., pp. 67-71.

28. ibid., p. 71, B. Harrison quoted.

29. G. Stedman Jones, Outcast London, (Oxford, 1971).

30. Dickey, op.cit., p. xv.

31. J. Godden, 'The Work for Them, and the Glory for Us', Australian Welfare History, (Melb. 1982).

Jill Roe³² and Richard Kennedy³³ have begun to address this omission.

Kennedy, in his essay 'Charity and Ideology in Colonial Victoria', identified like Windschuttle, the derivative nature of colonial philanthropy but warns that a too simple comparison obscures more than it clarifies.³⁴ However he identifies the implementation in 'kind' rather than through the legislature, of the principles of the 1834 British Poor Laws with the notion of less eligibility; that being the belief 'that welfare benefits should only be offered on terms designed to make the condition of the unemployed who chose to accept them, less desirable than the condition of the lowest paid worker'.³⁵ Kennedy also notes the establishment of the Melbourne Charity Organization Society in 1887 which, like its parent society in London, aimed at implementing the principles of 'modern scientific charity' to stem the flow of indiscriminate alms giving, for indiscriminate alms giving created 'pauperism' and 'demoralized' the working class. Professor Edward Morris, the founder of the Melbourne Charity Organization Society maintained that charity should recapture the personalized experience of giving of the pre-industrial village society.³⁶ 'Charity', said Professor Morris, 'should be an individual thing betwixt man and man...to foster and increase the human element ...[and] to bring reason and method to the guidance and sympathy

32. Roe, op.cit.

33. R. Kennedy, 'Charity and Ideology in Colonial Victoria', Australian Welfare History, (Melb., 1982).

34. ibid., p. 51.

35. ibid., p. 60.

36. Stedman Jones, op.cit., p. 261.



ORPHANED AND DESTITUTE CHILDREN WERE SENT TO ORPHANAGES OR INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

Seasonable Work among the Hobart Poor.



A HEALTHY GROUP OF GIRLS AFTER DINNER.



"Mall" photo.

YOUTHS WHO ARE WELL WORTH LOOKING AFTER.

and emotion, not stifle and abolish them'.³⁷

Kennedy's paper vividly illustrates the different political, social and economic climate in late nineteenth century Victoria from that in Britain in the same period and the implications this has for philanthropists in Victoria. However, as Kennedy is quick to point out, the Melbourne Charity Organization Society failed to implement its programme of 'organized' charity except only by informal means. Stedman Jones also explores the decline of the influence of the London Charity Organization Society but unlike Kennedy he also teases out new strands of the liberal philanthropy which emerge in this period as a reaction to the old laissez-faire liberalism of 'less eligibility' and 'pauperism'. With the rediscovery of poverty, Stedman Jones maintains, the poor were now seen as neglected and exploited but did not emerge as objects of compassion but as an 'ominous threat to civilization'. The traditional distinction between the respectable (deserving) working class and the casual poor, the unrespectable, undeserving working class was however maintained.³⁸ Fears of urban degeneracy and the possibility of contamination by the 'residuum' of the respectable working class led to the espousal of a more coercive and interventionist policy toward the 'residuum' including the use of labour colonies and sterilization of this group and these ideas espoused by Samuel Barnett and Arnold Toynbee emerged in the debates of the two conferences on charity in 1890-91. In the same

37. E. Morris' Inaugural address - "Organized Charity", A/ACC. 1890, p. 6. Stedman Jones explains that the significance of 'demoralization' is that it explained pauperism not poverty. 'The implication was that pauperism, poverty's visible form, was largely an act of will. [This]...had been freely chosen because the negligence and thoughtlessness of the rich had made the state of mendicancy more agreeable than the state of labour', pp. 285-6.

38. Stedman Jones, op.cit., p. 285.

period another middle class response emerged, championed by Lord Brabazon, who with others advocated a social-imperialist solution to urban degeneracy which ultimately meant state involvement because the solution to the problem of the undeserving poor was slum clearance programmes, relocation and retraining programmes on a scale not possible in the individual approach of the Charity Organization Society. A further feature of this 'right wing' 'collectivism' was the linking of Darwin's theory of the 'survival of the fittest' with the theory of 'urban degeneracy' which emerged in the Edwardian period in the guise of eugenics.³⁹

All these trends which Stedman Jones identifies as occurring in the last two decades in Britain, also emerge in the same period in Australia, publically debated at the 1890-91 charity conferences then more fully developed in its relation to children in the 1909 Interstate Dependent Childrens Congress.⁴⁰ The implications in the Tasmanian context of these new theories which emerge in the following chapters will be explored.

Stedman Jones, challenging historians like Brown, who, in Poverty is Not a Crime, sees the changes made in the training and care of 'welfare' children as being a period of improvement and progress',⁴¹ maintains these historians are 'one sided' and 'teleological' in their work for they have ignored

39. ibid., pp. 296-314.

40. Dependent Children, Interstate Congress of Workers (Adelaide, 1909) papers presented at this conference included sterilization of the 'unfit' and prevention of marriage for the 'unfit'. Anxiety was expressed about the declining birthrate and fears of a 'child famine'.

41. Brown, op.cit., p. 150.

proposals to segregate the casual poor,...[and] separate pauper children from 'degenerate' parents'. For contemporaries, who also proposed free education and free school meals, these solutions were part of a single debate.⁴²

It is only in recent years that the history of welfare has gained the attention of historians in Australia and as yet little work has been undertaken in this area.

In Tasmania the pioneering work was undertaken by Brown in Poverty is Not a Crime, which is a study of social services from settlement in 1803 to Federation in 1900. This work, however, focussing as it does, on the legislative and administrative history of Tasmania's social services, is concerned to show only the achievements of a few public servants and charity workers in this period. The work is not informed by the contemporary debate in social reform in that period and consequently, as pointed out by Stedman Jones, it fails to consider the total debate, which for contemporary social reformers was a unified coherent one.

The interrelationship between recipient and social reformer is a vital part in the debate in the new social history of welfare in Australia. The dimension of the point of view of the recipient which provides the raw material for such a history is strangely absent from Brown's study.

42. Stedman Jones, op.cit., pp. 313-314.

CHAPTER 2

IN THE INTEREST OF THE COMMUNITY

The younger the age at which the child is brought under good influence, the less costly will be its reformation or training, and the more certain and enduring the good result; the gain to the community,...being simply incalculable.

G.Guillaume, Secretary,
Neglected Childrens Department,
Victoria, 1890.

It was thought necessary to remove Mrs Rosina West, the mother of three children to the New Town Charitable Institution, as she was in a very neglected condition and apparently in the last stage of consumption. Then the children were left without a home or guardian.

James Pearce,
Inspecting Officer,
Neglected Children Department,
Tasmania, 1898.

'Street arabs' once again appeared on the streets of Hobart in the 1890s. Not since the late 1850s had homeless children created anxiety in the hearts of Hobart society.¹ The 1890s was a decade of conflict for Tasmanian society. When it began, in power was a government led by Henry Dobson, described by Reynolds, in the Island Colony, as 'a plutocrat who believed in the division of Society into 'upper', 'middle' and 'lower' classes on the basis of property and money',² with a conservative ministry. This ministry however foundered in the 'mire' of the Depression. Sir Edward Braddon, able to organize both liberal and opposition members, formed a new government and thus for a time shifted the balance of power away from

1. Brown, op.cit., p. 136.

2. H. Reynolds, The Island Colony, (Hobart, 1963), p. 96.

the oligarchy of land and commerce,³ and extended the liberal's ideas of reform⁴ into the social sphere through legislation.

The decade opened with a wave of strikes but the nascent unions were to prove pitifully weak, and, with increasing unemployment, non-union labour was used to break the strikes.⁵ The Hobart Benevolent Society, the major charity which the Government supported as a relief agency was complacent. It reported:

Subscribers and the public may be fairly congratulated on the general prosperity of the country. Never perhaps, since the foundation of the Society has the claim for merely casual aid come so near to extinction.⁶

The Society in Launceston, however, reported 1890 as a year of 'unusual distress'.

By 1894, following the crash of the Van Diemen's Land Bank, social anxiety was running high. A massed meeting of the unemployed turned into a torch lit march to Parliament House. The police were mobilised and 'affrighted' one member of the Legislative Council who fled the Parliament in a cab.⁷ Four thousand people with 'torches, accompanied by two bands, carried a banner displaying Monopoly with a bludgeon labelled "Law and Order" towering over a labourer who, with feet chained, cracked stones for 3s a day'.⁸

The unemployed and their organisers continued to demonstrate

3. ibid., p. 8.

4. ibid., p. 99.

5. R. Davis, Eighty Years' Labor, (Hobart, 1983), p. 3.

6. Annual Report, Hobart Benevolent Society, 1890.

7. P. Hart, 'The Rev. Archibald Turnbull, Agitator', Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings, Vol.12,

8. ibid., p. 49.

Oct. 1964, p. 49.

and send deputations to Parliament throughout the year. A prominent spokesman, the Rev. A. Turnbull, estimated that in Hobart alone over a thousand people were without support.⁹ In Launceston, in 1893, it was estimated that over 800 men were out of work. In the Parliament, Edward Mulcahy MHA, estimated that 500 men were unemployed when, in 1894, he spoke to the House on the need to establish a Select Committee into unemployment.¹⁰

The Braddon government's response was limited to the social suffering; at one stage 250 men were employed breaking rocks on the Domain and normal Parliamentary works projects were relabelled 'relief programmes' and salaries reduced accordingly.¹¹

In the face of growing unemployment Braddon turned over the care of the victims of the Depression to the Benevolent Societies in Hobart and Launceston. In a letter to the Victorian Treasurer Braddon stated that

The system of supporting charities in Tasmania has not in my judgment, been found satisfactory. There has been on the part of the community generally too great a dependence upon the central government and I am now endeavouring to evoke in the part of the people an [illeg.] of self reliance and self help that shall reduce that burden upon the state.¹²

The action taken by Braddon to withdraw from the responsibility of funding a state relief bureaucracy by devolving the responsibilities of charitable relief onto the Benevolent Societies was a cynical act, hidden by the rhetoric of contemporary philanthropy, to secure a reduction in state expenses and in the cost to the taxpayer.¹³

9. ibid., p. 46.

10. Brown, op.cit., p. 155.

11. Hart, op.cit., p. 48.

12. AOT, PD 1/279/95.

13. Brown, p. 162.

The government's move away from the provision of outdoor relief, seen in Tasmania as a traditional role of government evolving as it did out of the institutions of the convict era, was in direct contrast to the centralizing trend in assuming control of charitable relief occurring at that time amongst the mainland colonial governments.¹⁴ There was, however, a contradictory situation in relation to the creation of the centralized, government run and funded, Neglected Children Department.

In August 1895 the Tasmanian News scandalised bourgeois Hobart, when, for three consecutive days, it ran a major story by a 'special correspondent' on Juvenile Depravity in Hobart. The writer revealed that 'a state of immorality at present exists in our streets that has no equal in any other part of the world'. The writer discussed the 'Traffic in Children' under ten years of age and wrote of the 'uncaught criminals' who were 'not poor men...[but] residents who seek out their victims three times a week, who display their gold chains and rattle their money in their pockets'.¹⁵

The appearance of this series was clearly orchestrated to coincide with the introduction into Parliament of two bills dealing with children, the Cruelty to Children Bill,¹⁵ then under consideration by the Lower House, and the Neglected Children Bill, which was to be introduced into the House of Assembly on 26 September. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was galvanized into action and called a combined public meeting on the 6 September. A.J. Taylor addressing

14. Dickey, op.cit., p. 127.

15. Tasmanian News, 30 August 1895.

16. The Prevention of Cruelty and Protection of Children Act, 59. Vict. No. 10.

this meeting, claimed that the story was 'sensational but true' and Dr Crowther MHA, called on the police to 'break up and move on young men', and introduce a curfew bell at 8 p.m. so that 'little girls in short clothes found to be in the street after that hour would be taken up'. The meeting established a combined committee to scrutinize the Bills before Parliament, and to suggest changes that they deemed necessary to improve the legislation. The Committee elected the Reverend Talbot as President and also included the President of the YMCA, the President of the YWCA, two delegates from the WCTU, three delegates from the Council of Churches, and two from the Salvation Army.¹⁷

Voices were also raised in criticism of the Tasmanian News articles. The Hobart City Council which administered the police, questioned the truth of the report, but nevertheless felt that there was room for reform.¹⁸

Most strident in its criticism however, was The Clipper. In two articles on 7 September it lashed out angrily at the 'muck raking' press;

The tale of human degradation is pointed with no moral. It only emanates from a pen desiring to exchange a 'sensation' for a few pennies, and has no other effect than to raise an hysterical cry for vengeance and annihilation. Of course a savage never yells without being heard, and so these victims of starvation, slum life and vile men's lust, children of sweated and rackrented parents, are to be driven off the streets by the strong arm of the law; but to where? - and that is the only remedy that our Democratic House of Assembly can suggest.

and also

17. Tasmanian News, 6 September 1895.

18. ibid., 2 September 1895.

The Tasmanian Noos-ence has been raising a howl about juvenile depravity and the A/G is going to bring in a bill to send all female kiddies to bed at a respectable hour. Won't one member yell into his ear that such vice is always the result of poverty and slum life; and that the cause being eradicated, the fruits of the effect at once dies.¹⁹

Almost every day throughout September whilst the legislation was before the Parliament the Tasmanian News carried editorials, printed letters, and reported on public meetings and the debates in the Parliament relating to the topic.

In an editorial on 'Social Legislation' the Tasmanian News, justifying the need for the State to become involved in social issues, contended that 'there is likely to be a continued existence of such classes of neglected children' who needed the care and protection of the State.²⁰

The Braddon government had just come to power when the 'neglected children' legislation went before the Parliament in 1895. It was passed by the House of Assembly but was debated only briefly by the Legislative Council which quickly passed a motion to gag debate on the Bill instead.²¹

Mr A. Douglas MLC, speaking against the introduction of the 'Neglected Children' Bill into the Upper House said that the Bill was 'copied almost word for word' from the Victorian Act and that the recent sensational talk about 'juvenile depravity', which was unfounded, did not justify its introduction.

When the Bill, drawn up by the Attorney-General, Andrew Inglis Clark MHA, was introduced into the Lower House

19. The Clipper, 7 September 1895.

20. Tasmanian News, 13 September 1895.

21. Mercury, 16 October 1895.

opposition to it was centred upon the increase in power that the Bill gave to the State to invade people's privacy. Mr Gilmore MHA, arguing that it resembled 'Tammany', maintained that the Bill ran counter to the liberty of the subjects of the Crown.²²

Other contentious issues emerged as well. The attempt to legislatively redefine the upper limits of childhood, increased to 17 years, was treated with scorn by some members who felt that it was an insult to those people who were quite able to fend for themselves at an early age and who were probably contributing to the support of their family.²³

There was however, one issue which obtained general agreement in both Houses in both sessions in which it was debated. The majority of members voted to strike out the section dealing with punishment for the seduction of state wards because it was felt to be too draconian. It was felt that 'a man might be made guilty of an offence he did not know of. A man had no means of knowing whether a girl he was enticing was a ward of the department of not'.²⁴

The initial spate of interest died with the rejection by the Parliament of the Neglected Children Bill but the Tasmanian News continued to keep the issues before the public eye, reporting all cases of child crime and child neglect which came before the police magistrate. The public outcry adversely affected the treatment of those children who came before the court during this period. Three girls were committed to the Girls' Training School for five years each on a charge of swearing. Commenting on this 'happy' outcome in an editorial feature the Tasmanian News maintained;

22. ibid., 27 September 1895.

23. ibid., 27 September 1895.

24. ibid., 27 September 1895.

Starting as they were on a life of crime and degradation, they must soon have lost every spark of female delicacy and feeling and before they had reached womanhood become blase and objects of scorn....There is now before them a life of purity and usefulness and they may become useful members of society....The punishment may to them appear to be severe, but it should eventuate in being for their benefit...[and] they are prevented from...pointedly contaminating other childrens minds.²⁵

The Clipper, however, continued to criticize the attack being made on working class people. Throughout 1896 they criticized the Salvation Army for the way that it treated prostitutes.²⁶ It reported the hopeless plight of a domestic servant who, following her mistreatment by her mistress, committed suicide.²⁷ It criticized the WCTU for not understanding the economic reasons for children becoming street sellers, when the Society had called for the cleaning up of the streets;

Just imagine trying to improve these little waifs by taking away from them an honest...way by which they can earn the price of a meal.²⁸

Sir Edward Braddon, with a new coalition of liberals and 'opposition' members formed a new government in 1896. The 'Neglected Children' Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council by Chief Secretary W. Moore, and though amended, was approved, and passed into the Lower House where it was forced through at a 'galloping pace'.²⁹

The amendments which arose in the Legislative Council reflected the concerns of that House in the brief debate in 1895 particularly in relation to the sections threatening the privacy of

25. Tasmanian News, 9 September 1895.

26. The Clipper, 11 July 1896.

27. ibid., 26 September 1896.

28. ibid., 5 September 1896.

29. Mercury, 22 November 1896.

Crown subjects. Unlike Victoria, where private philanthropy was paramount, the Parliamentarians rejected any increase in the inspectorial and summary arrest powers of voluntary philanthropic groups.

The motion aimed at extending legal childhood to 21 years was rejected and the notion that some children were quite able to be responsible for themselves from the age of fourteen was reflected in members rejection of the call to remove imprisonment of youthful offenders from the statute books.

The legislation had also allowed both for the voluntary relinquishment of children, by their parents, to the State and for the Minister to be granted the power of removal without needing approval from a Court of Law. This however was rejected, as it was felt that it was a licence for parents to abandon their responsibilities and because of the fear that the State would have to maintain illegitimate children.³⁰

When the Neglected Children Act was proclaimed it established the Neglected Children Department which was to become the precursor of the modern Community Welfare Department and its attendant legislation, the Child Welfare Act 1960. The Department was situated at the New Town Charitable Institution, now St Johns Park. The initial establishment included Mr George Richardson as the Secretary to the Department, and James Pearce and William Welsh as Hobart and Launceston Inquiry Officers respectively. The collection of maintenance dues was granted to George Judge in Hobart. The

30. Mercury, 20 August 1896.

position of matron which was created for a receiving depot was never filled; nor was the receiving depot built. All these positions were held as pluralities in conjunction with other duties in the Charitable Grants Department and associated institutions.

The Act not only created a new department but granted the State the legal guardianship of children committed to its care. It established the right of the State to establish receiving depots. It established control over the Boarding Out Scheme and Industrial and Training Schools and allowed the judiciary and the Department to place children in these establishments and receive funds for the maintenance for such children. The Act formalized all the procedural duties of the Boards of Management of the Institutions and the Visiting Committees associated with both the Institutions and the Boarding Out Scheme.

The Secretary of the Department was given full power of dispersal of the wards of that Department including the apprenticing or placement out at service of children and the transferral of children within the system, between boarding out homes, industrial schools and training schools.³¹

Youthful offenders were still liable to imprisonment for ten days prior to their committal to a training school. Should children commit an offence whilst in the care of the Department children in Industrial Schools could be imprisoned then transferred to a Training School. The children committed for an offence whilst in a Training School could be imprisoned with or without hard labour for three

31. The Youthful Offenders, Destitute and Neglected Children Act, 1896, Pt. III, Sect. 23.

months. All children were offered an alternative punishment of solitary confinement with bread and water for no more than two days or could incur 'moderate' corporal punishment.³² Hanging and imprisonment for crimes other than summary offences were retained for children.

The definition, 'neglect' referred to children under the age of fifteen found begging or, if under the age of ten, found to be in casual employment after 7 p.m. in winter or after 9 p.m. for the rest of the year. Also now to be considered neglected was the youthful offender with a summary conviction. Homeless, orphaned, or deserted children were also included. It also considered children considered to be in moral danger due to their living with, or associating with, drunkards or vagrants. Girls under fifteen, whose behaviour in a public place was thought to be indecent, or who were found soliciting men, were a new addition to the categories of neglect.³³

In Part II of the Act, dealing with the Treatment of Neglected Children, the category of children who may be committed to the care of the Department is extended to include any girl under fifteen who lives in a brothel, or any child brought before the Justices through the Prevention of Cruelty Act. A child who is considered to be 'uncontrollable' by its parents could be surrendered to the Department. Children who had been living in brothels however were automatically sent to a Training School unless the justices were convinced that the children had not led immoral or depraved lives; only then could they be admitted to the care of the Department.

32. ibid., Pt. VI, Sects. 78-83.

33. ibid., Interpretation 2, i-vii.

Parental rights were very limited. They could pay for the maintenance of their child for the duration of its retention,³⁴ and they could determine the child's religious instruction programme. Visiting rights were determined by the individual management committees and parents, if found to have aided and abetted their child's escape from care, could be punished.

The rights of children in relation to their property and income were protected and listed in profuse detail in Part II, and their rights whilst in service or apprenticed out were covered by the Legislation. However limited inspectorial staff and the rights of 'Masters' under the Master and Servant Act 1887³⁵ which permitted the whipping of apprentices, meant that the individual child's lot varied considerably.

Contemporary responses to the passage of the 'Neglected Children' Bill was split along class lines. The Clipper, consistently objecting to the attack on working class families, demanded instead the right of men to work for a living wage. At a mass meeting, reported in The Clipper, organized by the Labour and Liberal Electoral League, Mr E.J. Paton, railing against the outcry about juvenile depravity, claimed that this problem was misnamed. Instead it should be called 'juvenile starvation'.³⁶ The Tasmanian News however, was delighted with the Act, as it was seen to attack the 'evergrowing extension of pauperism' and so stop the recipients of charity regarding charitable help not as a 'disgrace' but as a 'boon'.³⁷

34. ibid., Pt. VIII, Sects. 90-103.

35. The Master and Servant Act, 1887, 51. Vict., No. 3.

36. The Clipper, 5 October 1895.

37. Tasmanian News, 28 July, 1896.

The passing of the Neglected Children Act was an important victory for the urban bourgeoisie. The conservative rule of 'land and commerce' which fought against the Bill in the Parliament on the issue of the erosion of the rights of the individual, was broken. Gellibrand, who staunchly resisted the Bill in the Legislative Council, revealed that he was fully aware of the authoritarian face of the new democracy when he told the Council that the Bill was a return to the 'dark ages',³⁸ and evinced 'surprise' that the leader of the 'Democrats' would draft such a Bill.³⁹ The voice of labour remained feeble; few men in the Parliament spoke out on behalf of the working class and labour was not represented in the Parliament until 1903 when four candidates were elected to the Lower House.⁴⁰

The authoritarian face of the social reformers involved with the care and training of children was acknowledged openly at this time. The belief that 'pauperism' was hereditary led Miss C.E. Clark to conclude that it was a grave mistake to bring up young children in the 'hotbed of their own moral disease'.⁴¹ She went on to establish a system for the boarding out of children in foster homes in South Australia. By the 1890s this scheme had been implemented to varying degrees in all the colonies.

It is important to consider the contemporary debate which evolved around the care of children who became wards of the State at the end of the nineteenth century. Brown, from the perspective of the mid twentieth century saw the period between 1862 and 1890 as a revolution in the care of children. The adoption of the boarding out

38. Mercury, 20 August 1896.

39. Tasmanian News, 20 August 1896.

40. Davis, op.cit., p. 135.

41. Spence, op.cit., pp. 10-15.

scheme and the reduction in the size of institutions training children was seen as the consequence of the actions of a few 'enlightened' public servants and charity workers. For Brown, the removal of the more onerous effects of 'barrack' institutional care, meant that there was a genuine concern for the childrens' personal happiness.⁴² Contemporaries however, were dissatisfied with the quality of the domestic servants the institutions produced and people requiring servants preferred children reared in foster homes because they had been 'trained to obedience'.⁴³ Brown suggests that the debate between the proponents of the boarding out scheme and those of the institutions was motivated by the Neglected Children Department's preference for placing children in foster homes thus causing chronic financial difficulties for the managers of the institutions. One needs however to take into account also the challenge issued to the institutions by expressions of concern about the quality of their 'products'.⁴⁴

In 1890 and 1891 The Melbourne Charity Organization Society held two consecutive intercolonial conferences on charity.

Mr George Guillaume, the secretary of the Neglected Children's Department in Victoria whose Act was to provide the model for the Tasmanian legislation in 1896, maintained that the 'rescue' and 'regeneration' of neglected children was 'one of the most sacred and pressing duties of any State' and that to be effective it must commence as early as possible.

He continued, stating that the rescue work was undertaken in

42. Brown, op.cit., p. 150.

43. Australasian Conference on Charity, 1890, p. 109; and Spence, op.cit., p. 17 and p. 42.

44. Brown, op.cit., p. 166.

the interest of the child, of its parents, and of the community;

Of the child - Every day during which the neglect is continued is an injustice to the child, its physical and moral tone being alike lowered, and whatever bad habits it may have acquired being allowed to gain strength.

In the interest of the parent - While the child is young, and the number of the family is small, the dissolute or drinking habits of the neglectful parents are less masterful, and the natural parental susceptibilities not yet altogether deadened, so that a possibility remains that the pang and the disgrace inflicted by the interposition of the State to withdraw the child may be felt and resented, with the view of recovering charge of the child or children.

The withdrawal of the latter before the parent has sunk too low also greatly increases the prospect of enforcing the departmental claim against him for the cost of maintenance, which again in itself is a further stimulus to his endeavours for the recovery of the guardianship.

In the interest of the community - ...the gain...whether from an economical or a social stand-point, being simply incalculable.⁴⁵

Among the conference delegates were a number of important philanthropists from the Launceston and Hobart Benevolent Societies.⁴⁶

The Tasmanian press was beginning to publish articles on Darwin's Origin of the Species and 'social efficiency' in 1895.⁴⁷

Sterilization was recommended to stop the 'strong' becoming overwhelmed by the 'unfit' in the cause of the race.⁴⁸ Articles on

phrenology also appeared; it foreshadowed changes in the ideas of the social reform movement which gained strength during the second

45. Guillaume, A/A. C.C. 1890, pp. 102-109.

46. The Conferences were based on similar ones in America. The idea was jointly suggested by Professor Edward Morris, President of the Melbourne Charity Organization Society and The Rev. J.W. Simmons of the Hobart Benevolent Society. Simmons rejected Hobart as the place for the inter-colonial conferences in favour of Melbourne as the Charity Organization Society was better equipped to deal with the conference administration. A/ACC, p.2. Simmons was also a member of the board of managers for The Hobart Boys' Training School until 1896.

47. Tasmanian News

48. Stedman Jones, op.cit., pp. 286-287.

decade of the twentieth century when doctors and psychologists began to classify children in order to further sift the 'contaminated' from the healthy.⁴⁹

By the 1890s, the ideas of the social imperialists were being introduced into Tasmania. At the forefront of the new philanthropy was Mrs Emily Dobson whose husband was the Premier of Tasmania between 1892 and 1894. Influenced by 'national hygiene' schemes evolved by Lord Brabazon, Charles Booth and W.E. Stead, Emily Dobson established a number of societies and like their British counterparts these societies emerged in a time of grave social upheaval when the perceived differences between the 'respectable' and 'unrespectable' working class broke down under the impact of economic depression.

In imitation of the Englishmen's resettlement schemes her Village Settlement Committee implemented a programme aimed at 'regenerating' the 'casual poor' through resettlement in the country. She founded the Brabazon Society and the Women's Sanitary Association but particularly she founded a number of influential societies which were to play an increasingly important role in relation to the treatment of women and children in the first twenty years of the twentieth century. These included the Ministering Childrens League, The Tasmanian Branch of the National Council of Women, the Women's Health Association, the Child Protection Society, and the Child Welfare Association. Emily Dobson's involvement in the social reform movement influenced this movement for more than thirty years.⁵⁰

49. Mentally deficient children, epileptic and tuberculous children increasingly, were separated from the community and placed in special institutions from 1916.

50. A. Taylor, Mrs Henry Dobson, (Hobart, 1973), passim.



MRS. HENRY DOBSON AND MRS. T. C. HODGMAN.

CHAPTER 3

AN AGE OF CHILD WORSHIP

The present day is said to be "an age of child worship". Perhaps the dawn of a more intelligent and thoughtful appreciation of the potentialities of the rising generation or the fact that we have fallen upon an age of declining birthrate, may have led to fear of a child famine.

Mr I. Rhodes,
Opening Address,
Dependent Children Congress,
1909.

Gaols, reformatories, policemen, all the paraphernalia of punishment that are supposed to be necessary to protect the world from the criminal might be scrapped and thrown into the limbo of mistaken opportunities if only mothers would understand their duty and learn how to do it.

Maybank Anderson,
Mother Lore, 1919.

In 1905 there was a nationwide public outcry carried on through the press against child care practices amongst the working class. Following in the wake of the debate on the declining birth rate, and the publication of statistics on infant mortality, a cry went up around the new nation over the dreadful waste of 'child life'. Sensational articles on 'baby farming' appeared for several weeks in February and March 1905 in the Queensland Evening Observer¹ and 'baby farming' was discovered in Hobart in June of that year. Mrs Henry Dobson responded immediately by suggesting

1. CSD 22/86/99/13/05, S. Kingsbury of the Queensland Evening Observer obtained and commented on all the existing legislation in New Zealand and the Australian states.

that the Society for the Protection of Children be empowered to visit the private homes of all individuals who cared for children other than their own who received payment for this, and requested that the visiting law be changed.² In July, the Launceston Womens' Political Association wrote to the Premier to draw his attention to the 'impotency' of the existing laws relating to the protection of infants.³

In Tasmania, a resurgence of concern among middle class reformers about the treatment of foster infants in private care began to be expressed in 1902. F.R. Seager, the Secretary of the Neglected Children Department in his Annual Report called attention to the need for proper supervision of all children who were privately boarded out.⁴ In 1903 a petition calling for the registration of the homes of women caring for children was presented to the House of Assembly by the Womens Health Association and an amendment to the Public Health Act, aimed at increasing the regulation over private boarding out, was passed in the same year.⁵ The enabling agencies were the Municipal Local Boards of Health and although the legislation was aimed at increasing the surveillance over working class women who privately boarded out children, the local authorities did not enforce the Act with any diligence or consistency.⁶

The misgivings about the care of infants of working class families was exacerbated by concern about the declining birth rate in

2. Mercury, 7 June, 1905.

3. PD1/107/47.

4. Department of Neglected Children Annual Report, 1902.
H.A.P. No. 36/1903.

5. H.A.P. No. 4/1903.

6. PD1/107/3/05.

the new nation and further by the realization that the highest infant mortality rate was amongst ex-nuptial births.⁷ New strategies were required to gain access to this group in the community because the draconian rule of the 'rescue' homes, established to 'remoralize' fallen women, caused working class women, 'by hook or by crook', to find other avenues of support during child birth.⁸

Following the 'population scare' viable infant life became the focus of the 'rescue' operation, and this required the support of a range of new controlling legislation including laws pertaining to the registration of births, licencing and inspection of carers' homes and nursing homes, and the introduction of qualified nurses to supervise and educate the carers. In the interest of the State's coffers and the ex-nuptial child's claims to its rightful paternity, maintenance legislation was also tightened up except in the case of women who were working as prostitutes at the time of conception.⁹

Contemporaries, including S. Kingsbury, the journalist who wrote the series on 'baby farming' for the Queensland Evening Observer, identified the newly enfranchised women of the bourgeoisie as a group which was becoming a powerful new 'political force' in the van of social reform.¹⁰

Brown and Taylor both recognize the importance and prestige that this group of women held in the community. The women emerged as managers in their own right of institutions such as the Rescue Homes.¹¹ The new societies which they formed received the patronage

8. Spence, op.cit., p. 60.

9. Neglected Children Act, 1896, Pt. VIII.

10. CSD 22/86/99/13/05.

11. Brown, op.cit., p. 156, and Taylor, 'Mrs Henry Dobson', op.cit., passim.

of the Governor's wife and other titled dignitaries. The women travelled to international congresses as well as conferences held throughout Australia.¹² Although this group of propertied women was entitled to vote from 1903 they were not allowed to take a seat in Parliament until 1921. The thrust, then, of the early suffrage campaign was to gain the vote in order to influence male parliamentarians on issues which these women had determined to be their specific domain. That these women felt that they had the right to influence the state on policies relating to the domestic sphere was not an attack on male and female sex roles, but rather, that being convinced that men and women had entirely different natures, they wished only to present claims dealing with their perceived sphere.¹³ To this end the mechanisms by which these feminists sought to implement social reform programmes prior to their own right to sit in Parliament, were lobbying, public meetings, and press publicity, on the assumption that all women would agree on women's issues regardless of party lines and therefore the sheer weight of their voting power would be sufficient incentive for change.¹⁴

This thesis is at variance with Brown's claim that this group of women was more 'tolerant' than its predecessors and suggests rather, that members of this group of women were granted a high

12. Mrs Dobson was nominated by Prime Minister Deakin to an International Suffrage Convention. Mrs Giblin attended an International Suffrage Congress in Rome. Mrs J.J. Edwards attended the Interstate Congress of Workers Among Dependent Children in 1909.

13. J. Allen, 'Breaking into the Public Sphere', In Pursuit of Justice, (Sydney, 1979), p. 107.

14. When women were finally enfranchised in Tasmania in 1903, they exceeded the number of men on the electoral role by more than 2,000.

status for the activities they undertook and that the aim of their work was to exercise control over working class women and children.

Dickey, in his major work on charity in Australia, overlooks the importance of these women, and by concentrating on official records and the records of 'secular, subsidized charities' fails to reflect the reality that women and children were the bulk of the recipients of charity and were often entirely dealt with by charities run by women.¹⁵ The arena of action for the 'ladies' was great.

Although women undertaking this type of activity were awarded a high status in the community, nevertheless it brought them into conflict with men of their own class, especially on moral issues such as raising the age of consent. Thus, while they were placing constraints on working class women and children, their own actions were constrained along gender lines within their own class.¹⁶

In her article on Sydney women's philanthropy, Godden explores the impact of the 1890s Depression, and women's enfranchisement, on these philanthropists. She suggests that the peak of women's sphere philanthropic activity occurred in the 1880s but that the Depression, with its attendant widespread unemployment, made individual solutions to poverty unrealistic and that the state therefore was forced to intervene to rescue capitalism. Women then shifted their attention to the state and attempted to implement their programmes using the resources of the state. The moral ascendancy which these feminists hoped to gain on achieving the vote failed to eventuate. Godden concludes that the power which was

15. Godden, op.cit., p. 97.

16. ibid., p. 93.

awarded to this group to 'rule' other women was 'severely eroded' by the early 1900s. This echoes Donzelot, who, in The Policing of Families¹⁷ proposes that an 'alliance' develops between the medical profession and the mother of the bourgeois family who then become the ally of the experts. The bourgeois mother becomes the 'executor' of the experts' orders, which, for the working class, means increased 'surveillance'.¹⁸ Godden suggests that selected men, the physicians, replaced the 'ladies' and thus gained control over an extended group of women.¹⁹

In both Windschuttle's and Godden's accounts the dimension of the intrusion of the state into the private sphere is absent. Windschuttle is concerned to emphasise the explicit social control practiced by her elite ladies whilst Godden is also concerned to illustrate the class nature of Australian society as well as the gender constraints placed on the lady philanthropists. The other dimension which is missing from both works is the dialogue across class lines which shifts and modifies the responses of the state, the bourgeoisie, and the working class.

Unlike Godden, Windschuttle does not consider the interrelationship between women of different classes. Godden's exploration of the language of female philanthropy reveals a hierarchy within this area: lady : woman : female. These terms, used with 'precision', meant two things. Firstly, they indicated the class of the woman under discussion: elite : respectable working

17. J. Donzelot, The Policing of Families, (New York, 1979).

18. M.Barrett and M.McIntosh, The Anti-Social Family, (London, 1982), p. 97.

19. Godden, op.cit., p. 96.

class : 'disreputable' poor. Secondly, they dealt with divisions of labour within philanthropic activity. 'Ladies' formed institutions for 'females' and employed 'women' to work on behalf of the 'ladies'.²⁰ These divisions also emerge in the Tasmanian context.

Godden, does not explore the impact on the bourgeois women's thinking once they have been confronted with the reality of working class women's and children's experiences. Daniels and Murnane wish to show, however, that while all women experience sexual oppression, working class women are oppressed by both class and gender. Unlike Godden and Windschuttle however they show that, although women and children were sexually and economically vulnerable nevertheless the experiences of this group were such that even though powerless and oppressed, they were not the passive victims who appear in Godden's and Windschuttle's works but rather, that they actively 'fought back' in both spontaneous and organized ways.²¹

In Tasmania very little historical research has been carried out on the role women played in philanthropy before 1890. Windschuttle notes that, as in the mainland colonies, women were active in the temperance movement in the 1830s and 1840s²² but it appears however, that unlike New South Wales both women's philanthropy, as a major activity, and female suffrage emerged, in the 1890s, at the same time in Tasmania.

Two discernible trends emerge in Tasmania at this time in relationship to the care of working class children. One group of

20. ibid., p. 92.

21. K. Daniels and M. Murnane, Uphill All the Way, (St. Lucia, 1980), pp. 3-7.

22. Windschuttle, 'Women, Class and

philanthropists was to concentrate on the practical ameliorization of children's lives by running the Industrial and Training Schools for girls using the traditional activities of fund raising by subscriptions and revenue raising activities such as pedlar's parades. The patronage of the Governor's wife was essential to this end.

The second trend was the formation of womens organizations, explicitly involved in new forms of social reform, which aimed to implement social change through the legislature using the techniques of lobbying, personal influence and public pressure.

The membership of both groups was fluid and not mutually exclusive but the aim of both groups was to shape working class culture to their own ends.

The constraints placed on both types of activity pursued by the 'ladies' within their class were different. The first group's activities were limited by the Department for Neglected Children through regulations and funding mechanisms. The second group was both more powerful and more vulnerable through being in the public gaze.

The relationship between the Department of Neglected Children and the committees associated with the institutions, and the boarding out scheme especially with regard to the constraints placed upon the committees, is now explored.

The Industrial and Training Schools and the boarding out visiting committees were in existence prior to the enactment of the 1896 Neglected Children Act. The new legislation placed new restrictions of certification and funding on the institutions and



THE PATRONAGE OF THE GOVERNOR'S WIFE WAS ESSENTIAL.

abolished the prestigious male-run Central Boarding Out Committee.²³ The Department adopted the boarding out scheme as a general policy and this seriously affected the economic viability of the institutions - the Hobart Girls' Training School closed in 1901.

Voluntary work within the Department was split between the predominantly female visiting committees of the boarding-out scheme and the male or female management committees of the institutions.

When the Department was established the supervision previously carried out by the central committee of the visiting committees was vested in the Departmental inspecting officers. The members of the voluntary committee only received reimbursement for travelling expenses incurred on their monthly visits to the homes of the boarded out children.²⁴ The committee members inspected in minute detail the domestic details of the foster homes and could insist on changes to the homes as well as being able to remove children from foster parents. Often however, the visiting committee acted as an advocate for the foster mothers. In 1901 the ladies in the Launceston committee, by-passing the Department, sent a deputation to the Chief Secretary requesting an increase in the rates of payment to the foster mothers and also requested that the Department be instructed to give 'reasonable' notice if children were to be removed from foster homes. The Department expressed 'surprise' that the committee should 'agitate' in this direction and, in an explanation to the Chief Secretary, maintained that there had been no complaints from the foster mothers to the Departmental inspecting

23. CSD 22/6/117.

24. CSD 22/39/262/00.

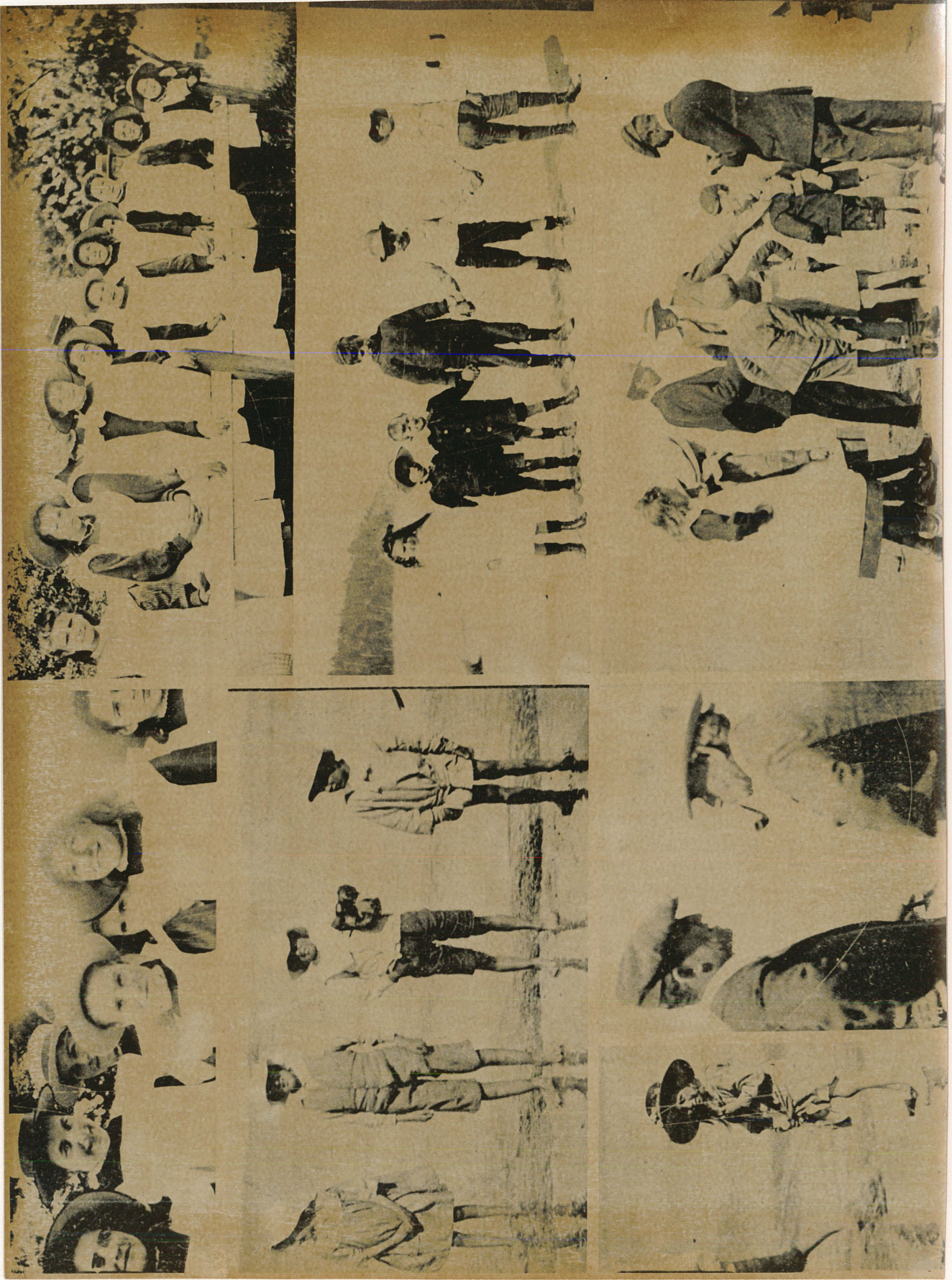
officers.²⁵ However, possibly in retaliation, from this year thereafter the annual reports which the committee were obliged to supply to the Department were no longer published in the annual reports of the Department.

The boarding out visiting committees did not have the high public profile that the ladies management committees of the girls institutions enjoyed in relation to their fund raising role. The role of the boarding out visiting committees was also quite different in that they had direct contact with the placed-out child and its carer and, as such, exercised much more control over both. The women's management committees had minimal contact with the institution child's family life and the ladies also employed women to conduct the daily management of the institution.

The Boarding Out Scheme which was evolved to correct the evils of institutional care reduced the cost to the State for the childrens maintenance but was also to train and care for the child in its 'station in life by placing the child in homes of the 'respectable' poor'. This gave the proponents of the scheme access to working class homes previously immune to the intrusion of the bourgeoisie. The visiting committees in many ways resembled the 'friendly visitor' advocated by Morris of the Melbourne Charity Organization Society. Their aim was to supervise and counsel the carers in their duties and use disciplinary action, including withholding of payments or withdrawing children if the desired criteria were not achieved.²⁶

25. CSD 22/25/41/01.

26. Kennedy, op.cit., p. 76.



THE BOARDING OUT SCHEME WAS EVOLVED TO CORRECT THE EVILS OF INSTITUTIONAL CARE.

With greater emphasis being placed on medical expertise, 1911 ushered in the demise of the visiting committees. In this year an inspecting nurse was appointed to carry out inspectoral duties in the foster homes in both Launceston and Hobart. This the nurse did at the instruction of the Secretary of the Department. The ladies of the Launceston committee, some of whom had served in this capacity for more than ten years, were incensed, and resigned.²⁷

The institutions dealt only with the children committed to their care and with the childrens' families only as visitors who were controlled by legislative and institutional regulations. There were significant differences between the status of the boys and girls institutions. The management of the boys institutions enjoyed a close association with the Department as there were often parliamentarians or religious and medical honoraries with the Department. Until 1911 the Secretary of the Department was also the Superintendent of the Boys Training School and a member of the Board of Management. Throughout the period under consideration the boys were involved in work at the Training School Farm as were the boys in the Industrial School. These farms were always overseen by hired personnel and generated considerable revenue.

The girls institutions were always in financial difficulty, their income being generated through the laundry work undertaken by the staff and girls. Boarding out had reduced the numbers admitted to the institutions and in the economy drive of 1896 stopped the practice of placing girls over twelve year old, who were no longer in the care of the Department, in the industrial schools for two

27. CSD 22/146/25/5/11.



THE MINISTERING CHILDRENS LEAGUE RECRUITED MIDDLE CLASS CHILDREN INTO CHARITABLE ACTIVITY.

years prior to their entering service.²⁸ After 1896, girls over twelve were immediately sent to service until compulsory education raised the age to fourteen years. In their annual reports to the Department the girls institutions requested a number of changes to government policy but until all the institutions and foster mothers organized a joint campaign at the end of the War requesting an increase in the fees paid by the Government for the maintenance of children committed to their care, the ladies committees received little consideration from the Department.²⁹

Another important aspect of the traditional type of philanthropic activity was the recruitment of boys and girls into charitable activity. The Ministering Childrens League was established by Mrs Emily Dobson to this end. Middle class children were encouraged to make sacrifices to raise funds for the poor children and to donate their used toys to the needy. Some branches of the League visited the Girls Industrial School in Hobart on Sunday afternoons and raised funds to pay for the medical expenses of some of the inmates.³⁰

In 1905 an amendment to the Neglected Children Act was passed creating separate Childrens Courts which removed all proceedings against children, whether for neglect or summary offences, from the Police Courts.³¹ Pressure was brought to bear on the Parliament by the Launceston and Hobart branches of the Society for the Protection

28. CSD 22/102/25/13/07.

29. PD 1/29/2/17.

30. Department of Neglected Children Annual Reports, H.A.P. passim.

31. The Youthful Offenders, Destitute and Neglected Children Act, 1896, amndt., 5. Edward VII, no. 39.

of Children to legislate in this Act to allow members of the Society to become special childrens magistrates. Demands were also made at the time to extend the definition of 'neglect' in the Act.³² A letter to the press objected strongly to the Parliament condoning the right of private persons to 'arbitrarily and without judicial process...interfere with the liberties of their fellow-subjects'.³³ The amendments were unsuccessful. The Childrens Protection Society however continued to agitate for changes in the law, demanding modifications in the newly created Childrens Courts and pressing for consolidation of the existing legislation dealing with neglected children. It lobbied for the introduction of infant life protection legislation along with early notification of births and registration and inspection of nursing homes and private foster-care homes.³⁴

The Childrens Protection Society established by the redoubtable Emily Dobson was one of the womens organizations which arose out of the increased public action taken by women from the 1890s onwards. It enjoyed an entirely different relationship with the Department for Neglected Children. At the Society's public meetings both men and women participated in the business of the Society. Mr F.R. Seager attended these meetings, passed on information to the Society and sought government funds for their delegates to attend the 1909 Interstate Congress of Workers among Dependent Children in Adelaide.³⁵ The Society disbanded itself in 1911 and its members became prominent in societies such as the Child

32. Mercury, 3, 30, 31 August 1905, 6 September 1905.

33. Mercury, 31 August, 1905.

34. PD 1/200/213/1/07.

35. Mercury, 19 March 1909.

Welfare Association formed in 1917.³⁶ The relationship these associations had with the Department was very different from that which its predecessors had enjoyed prior to 1911.

The change in attitude between the Department and the womens associations reflects the diminution in the status of the Department throughout the first and second decades of the twentieth century due to a number of factors both within and outside the Public Service. Due to the extensive legislative powers granted by the Neglected Children Act the Department exercised a great deal of power over the lives of the children under its care, their families and foster families. It also exercised considerable constraints on the institutions, as previously illustrated. It was, however, under constant surveillance by Government with regard to its expenditure levels and Seager often requested extra funding or suggested minor changes to the functions of the Department only to have them refused on financial grounds. For example, Seager was refused funding to attend the prestigious Dependent Children Congress in 1909.³⁷

At the same time however, Seager, the Department's Secretary, was aware of the work being undertaken in the other States and overseas and in 1904 allowed certain women, mainly 'deserving' widows, to board out their own children.³⁸ This practice was introduced with a minimum of fuss, unlike in New South Wales where the right for women to receive boarding out payments for care of their own children was fought for very bitterly,³⁹ and South Australian

36. NS 500/1/17.

37. CSD 22/114/25/9/08.

38. CSD 22/73/25/04.

39. Godden, op.cit., pp. 93-94.

Catherine Spence spoke out very strongly against its introduction. There were however stipulations attached to the receipt of the boarding out payment including provision for inspections by the Visiting Committee and Departmental staff. In the same year, influenced by the work of the Childrens Aid Society in Ontario, Canada, Seager boarded out four young offenders and expressed a desire to extend this 'experiment'.⁴⁰ The status of the Department within the Public Service was further reduced when the recommendations of the 1905 Royal Commission on the Civil Service in Tasmania were implemented in 1911.⁴¹ F.R. Seager was relieved of the Secretaryship on grounds of ill health and the functions of the Department were amalgamated into the duties of the Under-Secretary.

At this time education and medicine were becoming increasingly professionalized and it is on these professions that the womens groups based their reform activities.⁴² These developments also adversely affected the status of the Department, for, lacking a specialized professional base, its personnel were unable to compete with the aggressive stance taken by doctors and educationists in this period. The support the Department received from the Childrens Protection Society was not forthcoming from the new organizations after 1911.

During its existence the Childrens Protection Society emerged as an influential lobbyist. Although it failed to influence

40. Department of Neglected Children Annual Report, 1904-5, HAP. No. 51/1905.

41. Wettenhall, op.cit., p. 216.

42. K. Reiger, 'Women's Labour Redefined', Worth her Salt, (Sydney, 1982), p. 79.

the Parliament in 1905 in amending the Neglected Children Act the Society claimed the credit for the introduction of the Infant Life Protection Act in 1907. This time the Society gained the approval of Parliament to have inspectorial rights in the homes which were now registered under the Act. The Government as well partially funded the salary of a nurse to assist in this inspection.⁴³ The Secretary of the Society, Mrs Frances Edwards, attended the 1909 Dependent Childrens Congress in Adelaide. Organized by the State Childrens Council of South Australia it differed significantly from the 1890-91 Charity Conferences. Children in 1890 were seen as the rightful domain of charity. By 1909 children and their care was seen as an area which could now demand attention in its own right. It was a high level conference which was attended by the senior members of every States' relevant government department and senior members of associated semi-official societies.⁴⁴ The Tasmanian Government refused Seager the right to attend and also refused to fund the delegates who did attend.

At the Congress there was a shift away from the effects of 'pauperism' and 'demoralization' which had dominated the 1890 debates about children to a eugenicist or social imperialist stance. This with its attendant emphasis on 'degeneracy', emerged as the dominant influence and theme of the conference. The majority of papers proposed solutions to 'degeneracy' and the 'populate or perish' anxiety by suggesting environmental reforms evolving out of the works of the Social Imperialists, including education programmes

43. PD 1/213/1/07.

44. Interstate Congress of Workers Among Dependent Children, Dependent Children, (Adelaide, 1909).

legislative controls on birth registration, and delays in the marriage age.⁴⁵

The eugenicist solution to the 'degeneracy' problems, including the prevention of marriage of the 'feeble minded' and the sterilization of the 'unfit' were put forward by Dr Helen Mayo from South Australia. Mr Milner McMaster, a Tasmanian delegate, reacting against these solutions suggested that such issues were beyond the scope of the Conference, but Catherine Spence felt that Dr Mayo, ought to be congratulated on her courage in bringing the matter forward.⁴⁶

Frances Edwards concurred with the conference on the need to resolve the social issues of the time through alterations in the environment, and education for motherhood, but she also maintained that the work to be undertaken was the rightful sphere of women. She advocated the view that a 'lady' doctor should undertake to train 'lady' visitors to go into private homes and schools to instruct mothers and future mothers in their duties. The 'lady' visitor

...would deal with cases of life and death and health in circumstances requiring very special technical knowledge and personal qualifications, tactfulness and knowledge of people. She must be really and truly a lady visitor in the best sense of the term, and must be the best available teacher for the mother. She would have to undergo a short course of training by a medical officer [preferably a 'lady'].⁴⁷

Mrs Edwards clearly enunciated the continuing ideology of the separate 'womens sphere', now however, becoming influenced by the ideas of the contemporary medical profession. The women in the

45. ibid., pp. 11-29. pp. 75-77.

46. ibid., pp. 77.

47. ibid., p. 30.

Childrens Protection Society, the National Council of Women, and the Creche Committee had in 1907, tried to provide an alternative solution to working class women's child care problems by running a creche for working mothers.⁴⁸ In the course of this work the women realized that a night creche was also required. Unable to fund the project entirely through voluntary donations and fees, the Creche Committee approached the Premier, Evans, for government funds until the venture became 'self supporting' but the request was refused.

The Childrens Protection Society following the failure of the night nursery gained inspectorial status under parts of the Infant Life Protection Act.⁴⁴ Working with the Police Department, the Society appointed a nurse and, with a government subsidy, helped fund her salary. The significance of the procedures of the infant life protection legislation is that it contained one aspect of the basis of modern child care legislation - the inspection and registration of all homes in which people care for children other than their own, for remuneration. The care of sick infants which was the most harrowing aspect of child care undertaken by the registered infant life protection foster mothers was taken over after the end of the thesis period, by the as yet to be established, mothercraft homes.

The implementation of the Infant Life Protection Act was the major achievement of the Childrens Protection Society and following the withdrawal of government funds for its support the Society disbanded. The women regrouped into new organizations which were still centred on the care and training of women and children. These

48. PD 1/213/4/07, NS 325/8/07.

49. The Infant Life Protection Act, 1907, 7 Edward VII, No. 51

were however now becoming more closely involved with implementing reforms in the area of child health especially with the establishment of the Child Welfare Association and moves to provide for the training of the 'feeble minded'.

When it became known that the 1896 Neglected Children Act was to be revised and that the Infant Life Protection Act was to be incorporated in the proposed legislation and its functions taken over by the Department for Neglected Children, the Child Welfare Association, supported by the Chief Health Officer, lobbied intensively against the proposed changes. They claimed that the care of those children who were protected under the Infant Life Protection Act was different from that accorded the 'state orphans' of the Department for Neglected Children and that the children would be 'stigmatised' by this association. Mrs Edith A. Waterworth of the Child Welfare Association further maintained that the care of very young infants was rightfully the role of doctors.⁵⁰

Very little organized working class protest developed in this period but The Clipper began to demand a 'Mother's Pension Fund' in 1907 as their solution to the problems of working class women and their child care needs.⁵¹

Mrs Waterworth and the newly formed Child Welfare Association were unable to influence the Parliament in regard to the contents of the Childrens Charter. The solutions which her organization wished to implement were as authoritarian, and more intrusive, than the 'lady' philanthropists of the 1890s. In the years following the

50. CSD 22/242/179/1/18.

51. The Clipper, 9 November 1907.

period dealt with in this thesis Mrs Waterworth was to have her way as the Child Welfare Association gained influence in the area of home baby care - 1918 was just the beginning.

Mrs Waterworth was quite clear in her mind about her association's intentions; in a letter to the Chief Secretary in 1918 she demanded the right to gain access to the homes of all new born babies and wished to have this right given a statutory basis in the proposed Childrens Charter Bill. She went on to say;

No nurse has any legal right to interfere. In the arrangements we desire, one nurse would visit every baby at birth, would visit again and again every illegitimate baby, follow it into a nursing home, and out of the nursing home through the same nurse all the time, the mother, the relatives or foster mother would in almost every case simply accept her as inevitable and would not trouble to find out when she might legally enter and when she might not.⁵²

52. CSD 22/242/179/1/18.

CHAPTER 4

'A NAME NOT FIT FOR A DOG TO BE CALLED'

The chief pioneer of the 'history from below' is E.P. Thompson. His book, The Making of the English Working Class is a major landmark in this history. 'History from below' is primarily concerned with the restoration of the dignity of large masses of people not generally considered to be the 'stuff' of history except when they erupt into the history books in moments of violent group outbursts. The approach which is adopted by historians of this genre is concerned with the use of power in society and with the attitudes and responses of the relatively powerless. It seeks to identify patterns of organization and resistance from below and place 'them into relationship' with other classes.¹ In this context welfare history is only complete when the relationship between legislation, the agents of legislation and those affected by the legislation are explored in terms of their effects on one another. Children are the most powerless of all social groups; often written about or idealized in adult memories of childhood, they seldom leave documents and records traditionally 'attractive' to historians.² Until recently no works in Australian welfare history have considered the interrelations outlined above. Dickey concerns himself only with official government records and records of the major secular

1. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, (Harmondsworth, 1963), pp. 9-15. See also Alan Atkinson, 'Settlement from Below', Push from the Bush, No. 3, May, 1979, pp. 64-69.

2. Barbelet, op.cit., p. ix-xi, also Duning, op.cit., p. 9.

charities; womens charitable and reform groups are not consulted. Godden, Windschuttle, and Kennedy's works are concerned with class and the implications this has for a history of welfare. They are concerned however, to identify the ideology behind 'ruling class' thinking as related to charity. Recently Duning in her article in Hecate explored the official government records and discovered the lost voices of many poverty stricken women in colonial Western Australia. Daniels and Murnane, the intrusive compilers of Uphill All the Way present a selection of documents which dramatically widen the arena for historical research. Barbelet's recent book, which explores the lives of female State wards in South Australia is a landmark in welfare history. Brown neither concerns herself with the ideas nor the recipients' experiences of welfare in her study of early Tasmanian social services.

The aim of this chapter is to explore some of the experiences of children and their families when they become involved with the State and its agents.

The 1896 Neglected Children Act created a new department, the Department for Neglected Children, within the Chief Secretary's Department and consequently brought into existence a large series of 'case' records. In the period under survey over 2,500 files were created. The files are not social work case studies and do not contain the systematic social investigation, reporting and case management procedures of modern child welfare activities. What they do contain is not only the committal procedures and other official regulatory forms but also correspondence between the agency and

child and family, and between agencies.³ These files reveal not only Departmental procedures but also the changing social and economic circumstances of children and their families and sometimes in the children's own words, their experiences whilst in the care of the Department or when apprenticed out or in service.

Children became wards of the State by committing a summary offence or by being declared, by a police magistrate, to be either morally or physically neglected. In either case the child was charged; the juvenile offender by the type of summary offence committed, while the destitute or neglected child was charged under the Neglected Children Act.

By 1904 the treatment of young offenders was almost the same as that accorded the children charged with being neglected. They were boarded out with foster parents instead of being committed to a training school and were also apprenticed to people in the community upon reaching the legal age for service.

Children came to the attention of the Department in a number of ways, but the Acts of 1896 and 1918 did not give the Department the power of committal - 'its duty is to receive and provide for the children from whatever source they may be committed'.⁴ The children charged with committing an offence were brought before the police

3. Correspondence relating to the custody, and welfare of children under the Youthful Offenders, Destitute and Neglected Children Act 1896, and the Childrens Charter, 1918. (SWD1) Pseudonyms have been used for wards of the State, foster parents, and employers but not for government officials. See Appendix for an example of these files.

4. CSD 22/92/25/2/06.

magistrate or other authorized agents. Some were admonished or fined but others were committed to the care of the Department. For example Stanley Chatham of Evandale was summonsed to appear before the police magistrate for kicking a football in the public street in 1917. Stanley wrote to Mr Wise, the Police Magistrate, pleading for leniency:

I hope you will excuse me for not attending, as the journey would be very expensive. I cannot think of anything I done in Hobart which could have been considered as disturbing the peace, but I admit I kicked a football in the street. If that is the charge against me I am v. sorry and I promise it will not occur again. It is the first time in my life a policeman has had occasion to speak to me in regard to my behaviour. I am fifteen years of age and I hope you will deal as leniently as possible as it is my first offence.⁵

The outcome of Stanley's case remains unknown. The Grey boys were however brought to the Childrens' Court in 1922 charged with bathing in the South Esk River after the hour of 9 a.m. on Sunday. They were deemed guilty and fined 4/9d costs each. Again, Henry Wallace, aged ten, was in 1899 committed to the Boys' Training School for five years for the larceny of eight tennis balls,⁶ while twelve year old Lance McCormack was sent to the Boys' Training School for three years for the theft of property valued at 15/-.⁷

Neglected, abandoned, orphaned, or children who were thought to be at moral risk, were also brought before the police magistrate in various ways. Following investigations by the local clergyman and police, Doris Hutchins was charged with residing in a brothel. She was placed in the Girls Industrial School 'in order she may be fully

5. LC 256/2/17.

6. SWD 1/3/210.

7. SWD 1/30/1590.

protected from her mother's influence'. Her period of detention is not recorded but she died one year later while still in the care of the Department, at eight years of age.⁸

Orphaned children were often cared for by neighbours as in the case of Violet West⁹ and eleven years old Berda Eisellie.¹⁰ Berda's mother had died nine months prior to Berda's committal to the Department, her father had died three years previously and her five brothers and sisters had been 'taken by different people about the town'. Her adoptive family was no longer able to control the girl and the Department accepted her. Violet was twelve when her mother died of tuberculosis in 1898. She was one of three children and the Department, having no home for them, arranged for them to be temporarily placed in the Salvation Army Rescue Home. Violet was known to be illegitimate and was thus separated from her younger stepbrothers who were considered to be the responsibility of their father who had deserted the family two years previously. Rose Hooper's¹¹ adoptive mother, a widow, died in 1901 when the girl was five years old and the widow's adult children refused to take Rose. In 1914 Gladys Carmichael's guardian became ill and 'tired' of the troublesome six year old child and approached the Department to take over Gladys' care.

Private adoptions arranged between the mother and the adoptive parent were often accompanied by a lump sum payment to the adopting parent. When Rose Hooper was handed to her guardian her mother paid £35 and the father of Gladys Carmichael had paid a lump

8. SWD 1/10/679.

9. SWD 1/1/84.

10. SWD 1/1/9.

11. SWD 1/6/365.

sum to free him from any future demand upon him.¹² However none of these agreements constituted a legal or binding contract and thus caused much distress for either guardian or natural mother until the Adoption of Children Act was passed in 1920.

Rose Hooper and Gladys Carmichael were adopted. Gladys was adopted through the agency of the Ministering Childrens League in Launceston when she was two years old and Rose when she was two weeks old. Both mothers were successful in establishing new lives for themselves but the refusal of the Department to accept full responsibility for the girls when they came into care placed the new lives these women had established for themselves and their families in jeopardy. Gladys Carmichael's mother was traced both by the adopting agency and the Department's Launceston inspector. When she was finally located the Department approached her to see if she could 'resume control of the child, 'the fact of the child having been adopted is not binding in a Court of Law'. The mother replied that 'she was in no position to resume control...her husband had no knowledge of this child's birth and he has his wife and three young children to support'. The Department retained the child. Rose's mother was not so fortunate. The Hobart inspecting officer boarded out the child in his own home and received the government allowance. In his report to the Secretary of the Department he said

...the mother...left Tasmania about two years ago and went to Melbourne. I heard that she is married....A Mrs Jas. McAndrew in Liverpool Street has been corresponding with this woman but she could not give me her address, but when I informed Mrs McAndrew that I had sufficient information to trace her, and would likely place it in the hands of the Victorian Police...Mrs McAndrew informed me she would write

12. SWD 1/21/1188.

to her at once and let me know in a weeks time what [the mother] is prepared to do for her child.

In a letter following the discovery of Violet's mother's address

Inspecting Officer Pearce wrote

I desire to hear from you at your earliest convenience to know what private arrangements you are prepared to make for her. Should you neglect to make the necessary provisions for your child I am afraid that she will be sent to you.

Believing the child to be adopted the mother explained that she was in no position to care for the child.

I have not the means to pay, my husband is not earning very good wages just now, it takes me all my time to make ends meet, as things are so bad having been married only five months I have been out working myself to help us along a bit.

Violet was returned to her mother by boat with an accompanying letter from Inspecting Officer Pearce requesting that the mother reimburse him for the boat fare as well as for board and keep for Violet whilst under his care.

Today the long term care of adoptive children is tightly controlled and regulated. Children are only placed in families which most approximate the 'nuclear' family. Brown, claims that the boarding out and adoption schemes in this period were very similar. Taking her evidence from the points in favour of boarding out presented to the 1871 Royal Commission on Charitable Institutions, rather than the evidence in the records, Brown presents a picture of children being placed in families where mother and father are both present and the children are absorbed into a close knit 'nuclear' family structure.¹³ The records, however, reveal that all

13. Brown, op.cit., p. 145.

'respectable' women be they 'spinsters', married or widowed were considered appropriate people to care for young children. This was clearly acknowledged as proper at this time. Mrs Twopenny, in a paper to the 1891 Charity Conference, maintained that the best foster homes were those of 'artisans', the next best being widows and deserted wives. Mrs Twopenny however was very critical of the practice of placing children in families with children of their own of the same age.¹⁴ Contemporary criticism of the boarding out scheme was also expressed at the 1890 Charity Conference, and, defending his Orphan Asylum, Mr Wreford of Ballarat maintained that in many cases the boarding out children were 'paid drudges'.¹⁵

In Tasmania it was publically accepted that single women and widows were quite suitable and boarding out was considered to be their livelihood. Brown also suggests that the boarding out scheme provided a stable home environment for the children in the scheme but a survey of the case file dockets which record the movement of a particular child during its stay in the care of the Department, indicates that children were frequently moved amongst the homes. Mrs Bacon, a widow, and foster mother to Gertrude and George West, remarried and was unwilling to continue caring for them. The children were transferred to a Miss Brittania Thompson.¹⁶

Religious training was an integral aspect of the care and training of 'welfare' children throughout the period under

14. Twopenny, A paper presented to the Second Australasian Conference on Charity, Proceedings of the Second Australasian Conference on Charity, Melbourne, 1891.

15. Wreford, ibid., p. 110.

16. SWD 1/1/86.

consideration. Women applying to the Department to take a child under the boarding out scheme and families applying for apprentices or servants, had to have good references from the parish minister. The inspecting officers supervised the family very closely in relation to the attendance of the children at the appropriate denominational Sunday school. The children in the institutions also received religious instruction. In 1899 the Catholic Bishop of Tasmania wrote to the Department expressing concern that children of his faith may not be being placed in Catholic homes and therefore unable to be 'instructed' and 'brought to confirmation'.¹⁷ One of the contentious issues in the argument between the Department and the Launceston boarding out visiting committee in 1911 was the arbitrary removal by the newly appointed departmental nurse of the Department, of children from a longstanding settled caring home, on the grounds that the children were not in a home of the same denomination.¹⁸

Women have always been the major recipients of welfare services and their economic dependence within marriage either de jure or de facto is compounded by gender segregation in the work force. The institutionalization, death or desertion of the male bread winner through the period constituted a major factor in determining the number of children coming into the care of the State. In any year between a third and a half of the children were admitted to the care of the Department because their mothers were unable to support them. Thus Annie Willey¹⁹ and her mother had nowhere to live as her father

17. CSD 22/25/126/99.

18. CSD 22/146/25/5/11.

19. SWD 1/21/1356.

was imprisoned when she was fifteen years old. Harriet Henderson²⁰ surrendered her children aged two months, two years and 5 years, to the Department when her husband was sent to prison, as she had no means of supporting them.

The Department however, was always on guard against the State being 'saddled' with the care of illegitimate children as the 'fallen' woman was not considered to be deserving of State support. The files reveal how anxious the Department was to create disincentives for some women so that they would not look upon support from the State as a right.

Eileen Whatton was an illegitimate child whose mother had been able to support her until she was eleven years old, but as her mother was a domestic servant, she was unable to supervise the child during the day. Unable to find neighbourhood or institutional care for Eileen in Launceston she approached the Department for support. The Department refused support as it was not 'a case for government interference'.²¹ The consequences to Doris Hardie and her ex-nuptial infant, of the Department's refusal to board-out the infant were more tragic. Doris was 'quite destitute' following the birth of her child and unable to get employment. The Department however, maintained that she was fit enough to work and refused assistance. Unable to stay any longer in the Lying In Hospital Doris 'abandoned the child in a paddock...[and] was arrested'. The baby was finally boarded out by the Department.²² In this case the magistrate overrode the decision of the Department. Mr F.R.Seager, the Secretary, was incensed.²³

20. CSD 1/14/892.

21. SWD 1/1/1.

22. SWD 1/9/578.

23. CSD 22/82/25/05.

Women also ran the chance of losing their children if the magistrate was convinced that in the terms of Part II, Sections 11-13 of the Neglected Children Act the children were in a 'common brothel'. Female children who had been removed from brothels as in the previously mentioned case of Doris Hutchins, were to be placed only in institutions so as to avoid the 'admixture' of children who had been leading an 'immoral' life with the children only guilty of pilfering.²⁴

Female sexuality was to be contained and controlled. The Secretary of the Victorian Neglected Children Department maintained that 'tainted' girls should be confined to the country to separate them from the 'excitement' of the city and their 'disreputable relatives'.²⁵ When the Department is discussing women's moral proclivities however, it is often difficult to determine whether the judgements they make are only perjorative or are actually describing factual situations. Very few children were admitted into the care of the Department for residing in a brothel but most women whose children were taken by the Department were called 'prostitutes' or reported to have a 'bad' character, and children of de facto relationships were not considered to be within a 'proper' family while the mother was considered to be of bad repute. The Department was also reluctant to remove children from incestuous homes ostensibly on the grounds of the possible expense which would be incurred by the State.

Another experience common to the majority of children in institutions and boarding out home alike was their removal from these places on reaching the age of twelve years. Boys and girls,

24. A/A CC

25. ibid.

Boys' Training School, New Town.

REPORT of *Wm Smith, Sergh No 15* on *J* *86*
licensed to *Mr B. J. L.* of *Deloraine*
Boy's age *17* and religion *Protestant*

1. Date of Visit *19th December 1901*
2. Was the boy clean? *Yes*
3. Was the boy healthy? *Yes*
4. Was the boy well clothed? *Fairly well*
5. Was the boy well behaved? *Yes*
6. Was the boy kindly treated? *The boy seems contented, but stated that Mr. Smirer beats him occasionally.*
7. What sleeping accommodation had the boy, and was it sufficient? *The boy sleeps in the harness room in the stable, it is clean; chaff bed, one blanket, old horse rug & bags for bedding.*
8. Were any, and what, complaints made by or against the boy? *Nil*
9. Does the boy regularly attend a place of worship? *No, he has attended nine times in all & it is about 4 months since he last attended.*
10. Does the boy receive wages regularly every week, if so, what amount? *No wages, but the boy states that he has received 5/- altogether from Mr. as pocket money.*
11. General Remarks—

* Please make these enquiries of the boy apart from the employer.

Signature— *Wm Smith*

Date— *19th December 1901*

The Superintendent
Boys' Training School,
New Town.

unless exceptionally placed, were sent into service or became farm labourers.

The 'Servant Problem' was a constant source of debate from the 1890s to the 1920s. In 1895 'Thrift' wrote a letter to the press complaining that 'working class' girls were not taking the trouble to 'learn their duties' and make themselves 'efficient',²⁶ and in 1912 'Hypatia' discussed the 'domestic help problem' in her weekly column.²⁷ The experiences of children entering service depended on a number of complex issues including the social status of the place of service, the economic situation of the family, and personal interrelationships. The Department maintained an annual supervisory role of all children placed out by requesting the district policeman to visit the children in his district and report on the moral and physical condition of their place of employment.

Isaac Hawkins was sent for his first assignment to a farm managed by the wife of an eminent legal man in Hobart. Isaac, then thirteen years old was so miserable that he ran away and returned to the Boys Training School where he made this statement;

The whole of the family except [my mistress] and the eldest son and daughter have...been constantly getting on to me about the garden not being done, about the horse not getting fat, and about there not being sufficient wood in the house. It took me all my time to get wood as I had to drag it from the bush. I had to pluck a turkey that had been laying dead for two days and smelt very much.

Sarah Stephens was apprenticed as a general servant three times in five years and her correspondence to the Department reveals the intense domestic relationships experienced by both mistress and 'general'.²⁸

26. Tasmanian News, 23 August 1895.

27. Daily Post, 6 January 1912.

28. SWD 1/7/439.

June 11

of the 11th Street

New York



Mr. Seeger Dear Sir

I am just writing you a note of an account of what you told me, I had to work from five to half past ten of a night week days & from five to eleven o'clock of a saturday night & sunday night up till nine o'clock & I was with her nearly two years & I had nothing on my bed in the way of sheets I had to lay on the bed tick with one single blanket & one single quilt over me all that time & as she said in the letter that I pushed her over & kicked her in which I did not do I pushed her against a box accidentally & I also hit her but I did not kick her, she knocked me down on the broad of my back & stung me & also called me a liar & a thief & as I told you that I have not been in the habit of taking anything that dont belong to me, I think that her words should be proved by some one higher than her self and when she gets in a temper she goes to throw butter dishes at me & a done that several times & I have not made no complaints about her or said nothing and once I hit the little boy for kicking me in the leg because I took the carpet off of the ground from him and his father came out to hit me with his fists shut and instead of that he called me a bloody bastard a name which is not fit for a dog to be called, and when I went to town to buy my clothes I had to go in one train & out

in another. And when she said that I run away from her in the letter she told ^{you} ~~her~~ a wilful lie and as I think myself he is every bit as bad as her. I had a life of misery all the time I was with her and that silk blouse that she said I stold from her it was too small for her and she gave it to me, but I never wore it because it would not fit me and so I have not had it at all and you can kindly ask Miss W. have I brought it here with me and she will tell you and the skirt in which she also said I stold from her I am going to bring in to you on Wednesday so you can pass it over to her as she is such a bad woman

and I have sat up several times all night and day both and that is all the thanks that I got from her. So I think I have told you about all to night to tell you of Miss W. also reminded me of the filthy state that I was in when I come to her and I was crawling alive with vermin when I left Mrs. J. because I have not had the time to look after myself. I have not had a minute to spare because I have been kept going all day and they are all a dirty lot. I can tell you that when I went to Mrs. J. I was as clean as a new pin and I had no sign of any thing on me.

Letters to the Ladies Committee of the Launceston Girls' Industrial School, from past inmates and reproduced in the School's Annual Report, paint a somewhat different picture to that presented by Isaac and Sarah. One woman wrote;

We are settled down in our new House; and what a lovely cosy home it is and, better still, it is a really happy home. We have our own family altar where we nightly thank our Father.

Whilst another girl who had been in service for eighteen months gave 'testimony' to her old School;

I was a spoilt, naughty little girl when I went to the school, and perhaps I did not show much for the trouble that was taken with me; yet I know I can say, with pride, that I am a credit to your School. I thank God for such a school, where girls that are not really bad (for I never swore or told wilful lies), only spoilt and thoughtless - and I was a wild youngster too - can be sent and trained.

The heavy hand of the composer of the Launceston Girls Industrial School Annual Report appears to rest heavily on the text of these two letters. The raw reality of Sarah Stephens' letter however, stand in mute contrast to the ideal of every bourgeois woman's dream, the docile, God fearing servant who knows her place and who is happy to serve so aptly described in the letters in the Industrial School's Annual Report.²⁹

Throughout the period under consideration the visiting committees of the boarding out scheme and the womens management committees of the institutions called for the age at which children were sent to service to be raised.³⁰ These demands were sometimes motivated, as in the case of the industrial schools, by a desire to help generate more revenue in the laundry work undertaken but also

29. Department for Neglected Children Annual Report 1902, HAP 36/1903.

30. CSD 22/102/25/13/07.

from a genuine concern for the children going into service. Often foster mothers refused to part with their charge when the age of apprenticing was reached, preferring to spread their often meagre income further, rather than lose the child. Foster parents who did not have even these resources had to relinquish their children. In 1905 James Pearce, the Hobart Inspecting Officer, presented his annual report to the Department. Only a section of this report was printed; excluded was a long dissertation on the problems of separation. He wrote;

Sometimes I find it most painful to witness the breaking down of both fostermother and the child when...I have to send him or her to a situation or the country....No loving mother could feel the parting from her child more than some of these foster parents do. Many have said to me 'Mr Pearce this is hard. I feel I cannot take another child from you....you get fond of it and then having to part with the dear child. You feel it so hard....' Many of our foster parents have brought up their families respectably and they are now doing well for themselves. And they feel it is a labour of Love and a duty to God in undertaking the responsibility of training [my emphasis] these poor little orphans. Our aim is to lift the children from their former surroundings and not to crush their little spirits by letting them know or feel that they are State or Charity Children.³¹

What is revealing is not so much that the dismantling of the foster home when the child went into service caused considerable grief but that no mention is made of the child's emotional state at the time of separation. It was not until 1908 that concern was expressed about the child's feelings and then only by way of a letter from Miss Elizabeth A. Hunter of Toronto, Canada, which requested information about the foster parent/child relationship.³² Seager responded to Miss Hunter in a similar vein to Pearce's comments.

31. CSD 22/85/92/05.

32. CSD 22/114/25/08.

He wrote 'where poverty and other circumstances will not permit the possibility of adoption, there are many pitiable scenes at parting...'.³³

Throughout the entire period under review the focus of the type of care given to 'charity' children was on their moral and cultural retraining. At no time does it appear that either in the Department or amongst the social reform agencies, the independent emotional experiences of children were considered nor indeed was concern for the emotional attachments between children who were committed to the care of the State and their 'unworthy' and 'degenerate' parents, expressed.

Parents and children however, fought back. Children continually absconded, parents illegally removed their children from the institutions or foster home and resisted the Courts' right to remove their children from them. One family managed to gain permission for their son, aged fifteen, to take a short holiday with them following the Department's refusal to allow the boy to be released permanently from the Training School. The boy failed to return to the School on the predetermined date and letters from doctors and the police on the West Coast, where the boy had gone, were evasive; the child was 'ill', or the child could not be 'located'. The correspondence with the Department indicated that there was a great deal of collusion within the mining community on behalf of the boy and his family. Lance McCormack on the other hand, absconded a number of times and was finally certified mentally defective and

33. ibid.

detained in the Government Institution for Defectives at the New Town Infirmary.³⁴

Harriet Henderson illegally seized two of her three young children from the Boys Training School and a foster home, the third infant having died shortly after it was admitted to the care of the State.

Many children, on reaching maturity, were again sought after by their parent or parents. Mrs Collins wrote to the Premier, Joseph Lyons, in 1923 requesting the release of her two daughters;

I am writing you a few lines which I trust you will pardon on behalf of my two daughters whom are in the care of the State Department. I have written several times and received no reply...I am feeling rather anxious as to know how they both are I have always been in the habit of writing to the Premier Sir W. Lee in which I trust you will take his place....I have been in hospital for many weeks ill and I could do with my girls to help me...it is now 5 years they have been away and I am sure it is nearly time they could be discharged...³⁵

Mrs Collins' application for her daughters was refused, whereas Elma Burrows, the mother of Doris Topham, appealed to the Police Magistrate Wise in 1917 to intercede on her behalf with the Neglected Children Department which had returned to her care her daughter, aged nine. Doris was returned as her mother had married but, as Mrs Burrows explained

My husband is really an invalid and...is not fit for any now and we don't know where to turn to for our next meal only for his mother whom we live with and her husband only gets a very small wage 36/- a week and they have four young children to support and the House rent is 15/- a week....I am appealing to you as I know you to be a humane man and that you believe in Justice. I have appealed to Mr Seager and he doesn't seem to

34. SWD 1/30/1590.

35. CSD 22/286/39/1/23.

trouble, he seems to think you can live on nothing... my life is a misery to me ever since I have had her home, and she is so wild she will not do one thing that I tell her and she is in her ninth year of course she has never been with me...³⁶

Mrs Burrows was not however given any assistance by the magistrate as he determined that he was not empowered to help in any way.

Both the social reformers and the Department made a clear division between the 'respectable' working class, who were people like the Department foster parents, poor but temperate and God fearing, and the casual poor; the itinerate worker or the casual labourer, and poverty stricken women with children with limited visible means of support. The 'unrespectable' working class were irredeemable but their children were not. The division between the two classes, however was one of ideology and people could easily slip from one category to another through changes in the economic climate, such as a depression or boom or, if a woman, through the removal of the support of her spouse. The widow of one of the long standing staff of the Department applied for departmental assistance when she was seventy. She requested that she be paid the government boarding out fee to help her care for her young grandchildren who had been left in her care by her son, who then went to New Zealand and did not contribute to the childrens' maintenance. She was refused on the grounds that she was 'presuming' upon the Department because of her late husband's position³⁷ and because she was still capable of earning a living.

Occasionally a child of a 'respectable' person was committed

36. SWD 1/18/1062.

37. CSD 22/120/25/08.

to an institution. Henry Wallace, having been committed to the Boys' Training School for five years for the theft of tennis balls, was released on licence to his father shortly after his committal. His father, enraged at the severity of the sentence, gathered together a formidable array of documents pointing out the boy's good character as well as the respectability of the family. Severe restrictions however, were made conditional on the boy's release. Henry was literally imprisoned on his father's ketch for five years and the family's privacy was lost through periodic inspections by Departmental officers. For Henry Wallace's family, his release from the Training School was a Pyrrhic victory.

CHAPTER 5

THE QUALITY OF MERCY

The period ends with the enactment of the 1918 Childrens Charter. New forms of intervention emerge later which are beyond the scope of this thesis. Tasmania recovered economically from the Depression of the 1890s for only a short period when briefly, the export of primary produce and mining flourished in the first years of the new century.¹ In 1907 the report of the Royal Commission into wages was suppressed and in the years before the World War accusations of worker exploitation and 'sweating' were made. At the outbreak of the War the mines closed down with the market to Germany no longer available. By 1915 unemployment was at thirteen per cent and many families were on the verge of starvation. Prices continued to outpace wages throughout the War and in 1917 the general strike disrupted essential services to Tasmania. The resultant social disruption generated animosity across class lines and pitted worker against worker.²

The disruption of peoples lives through strikes, economic depression and the War saw a dramatic increase in the number of children coming into the care of the Department for Neglected Children. Between the census years of 1911 and 1921 the number of children maintained by the State rose by 124.2% whilst in the

1. R. Solomon, Urbanization - The Evolution of an Australian Capital, (Sydney, 1976), p. 377.

2. M. Lake, A Divided Society, (Melbourne, 1975), p. 115.

general population the number of children under twenty years of age only rose by 8.4%.³

From 1916 there was an increasing concern expressed in the press and Government circles about the 'boy problem' and it was against this general background that the Bill for a 'Childrens Charter' was introduced into Parliament in 1918.

The enactment of the 1918 Childrens Charter continued the 'transfer of sovereignty' from the family to a corrective system 'that never stops swelling'⁴ because the Act created two new agencies with the power to impinge on the families of working class children in a number of new ways. The Act consolidated in a quite dramatic way many of the features of the to be repealed Youthful Offenders, Destitute and Neglected Childrens Act, 1896 and 1905 and created an entirely new surveillance agency which gave extraordinary powers to selected members of the community. In the 1905 amendment, the Attorney-General was granted powers to establish special courts for children which were to deal with charges brought against any child. This Act however, only physically removed the special courts away from the vicinity of the police courts, and created a 'separate' charge book for all cases dealt with under the amendment. The amendment also removed the right of the public and press to attend the hearings of these courts.

The Childrens Charter granted extended powers to the

3. Rate of Change in the Number of Children Maintained at the Expense of the State, Graph 2.

4. C. Lasch, 'Life in the Therapeutic State', New York Review of Books, June, 1980, p. 28.

Department of Neglected Children now renamed The Children of the State Department. More importantly, it created two new agencies extending the power of the Attorney-General by granting surveillance powers over certain children and their families similar to that of police officers. The right of summary arrest was given to male or female Honorary Probation Officers in connection with children under his or her supervision.⁵

The second agency also created by the Act were male or female Special Magistrates with the same powers as those of the Police Magistrate Courts of Petty Sessions but with their powers of jurisdiction limited to proclaimed geographical areas.⁶

The creation of these new mechanisms of surveillance of the families of some children opened up a new period of social control which places it outside the scope of this thesis. In one sense the establishment of a Childrens Court which included a provision for the appointment of honorary Special Magistrates, and a system of probation which granted the State further rights to discipline the working class in their own homes belongs firmly in the pattern of the middle class social reform movement of the 1890s. This power was vested in the Attorney-General's Department. What places it outside the scope of this thesis is the introduction of the probationary, and special magistracy system for juvenile offenders at the same time as new methods of training and segregating the working class are emerging aggressively, proposing new methods of defining as a pathology,

5. The Childrens Charter 1918, Pt. V.

6. ibid., Pt. V.

Day 17 - November 1909 Before the Police Magistrate

	CHARGE.	PLEA.	WITNESSES EXAMINED.	VERDICT AND SENTENCE.
arroll	Breach of "Smoking by Juveniles Prevention Act" smoking a cigarette at Hobart on 8 th inst.		No appearance. Heard ex parte. ✓ Found guilty. Fined 2/6 costs permitted. In default 24 hours	
with at int	Larceny of a fowl value 3/- the property of A. Drunkley (On summons).		Charge withdrawn against John Hunt + Alfred Hunt elected to be tried summarily. Smith pleaded guilty. Alfred Hunt not guilty. Conviction recorded.	
with at unt Smith's Haines	Larceny of 5 fowls value 1/6 the property of Clyde Hamilton at New Town on 1 st inst.		Charge withdrawn against John Hunt + Smith. Alfred Hunt + Williams elected to be tried summarily. Hunt + Smith also pleaded guilty. + Williams not guilty. Found guilty. All ordered to come up for sentence if called upon.	
with	Found in possession of a duck reasonably supposed to have been stolen or unlawfully obtained without being able to account for his possession thereof on 30 th ulto.		Dismissed for want of prosecution.	
with	Found in possession of a fowl reasonably supposed to have been stolen or unlawfully obtained without being able to account for his possession thereof on 30 th ulto.		Dismissed for want of prosecution.	

W. O. Hise
Police Magistrate

Tuesday 22nd July 1925 before G. C. Filmore Esq. P.M. Messrs. Edwards & Pierce

CHARGE.	PLEA.	WITNESSES EXAMINED.	VERDICT AND SENTENCE.
charged with theft was found not guilty and discharged			
1 Eaton on remand from 22.7.25 was committed to care of Department			

Tuesday 29th July 1925 before G. C. Filmore Esq. P.M. Messrs. Edwards & Pierce

Allen theft of two bottles of lemonade guilty committed to care of Dept

Allen } illegally using a bicycle guilty
 case against White adjourned sine die

Gordon & Therson and Charles Knight were each fined 5/- for playing football in G. Corp Street on 17.5.25 - Rice, Therson & Knight paid 5/- each

Therson and Leonard Allen for destroying the flower beds in Brinkley Square were placed on probation for three months

August 1925 before: G. C. Filmore Esq. P.M.

ridge obstructing roadway in quilty / fined 5/- a 24 hours impr
 in Mason Liverpool Street 28.7.25 quilty / fined 5/- a 24 hours impr

indale theft bonds valued at 5/- adjourned sine die
 indale property of A B & Co for sale ordered to come up for sentence when called

the symptoms and out-come of poverty in a way which 'deliberately depoliticized' common working class experience.

These new trends will be explored in relation to the impact they were beginning to have only in the context of the period under consideration.

As with the Neglected Children Act of 1896 the Childrens Charter invested two ministers with enabling legislation. The Attorney-General and his agents were responsible for determining the legal status of a child brought before the special courts, known in the 1918 Act as childrens courts. (These courts were renamed Childrens Courts in an amending Act in 1923.⁷) Through the introduction of probation officers the court gained another means of dealing with children who were not committed to an institution or to the care of the Department.

The Children of the State Department was under the control of the Chief Secretary, and the Secretary of the Children of the State Department became the guardian of all children committed to the care of the Department as had been the case in 1896. Under the 1918 Act the power to discharge any child except one with a conviction, previously vested in the Governor, was granted to the Minister, but the Governor retained the power to discharge, or extend the time, a child could be retained by the Department. This opened the treatment of some children to the sway of the ballot box.⁸

7. The Childrens Charter 1923.

8. The Childrens Charter 1918, Pt. II.

The Act extended the age of a child liable to be placed in the care of the Department, extended the definition of 'neglect' and added a new section allowing parents to relinquish the guardianship of their children to the Secretary of the Department by declaring that their children were beyond their control.

The extension of the definition of 'neglect' reveals three underlying social concerns. Firstly from the moment the Neglected Children Act 1896 was passed social reformers continually expressed dissatisfaction with the grounds on which children could be brought into the Department.

The Magistrate at Latrobe, Mr W.L. Wells wrote to the Attorney-General stating that the present law was inadequate. He wanted power granted to magistrates to facilitate the removal of children to 'healthier' surroundings 'irrespective of the consent of the parents'.⁹ At the Dependent Children Congress Frances Edwards claimed that Tasmania had nineteen Acts and amendments relating to neglected children. The Child Protection Society was agitating for them to be consolidated¹⁰ and the press in Hobart reported on this campaign. In 1912, H.E. Packer, Under Secretary and Secretary of the Department for Neglected Children, proposed the transfer to his Department of the functions specified in the Infant Life Protection Act.¹¹

The Launceston City missionary in his correspondence to the Premier, requested the introduction of the 'probation' system

9. CSD 22/92/25/06.

10. Dependent Children Congress, p. 61.

11. CSD 22/115/6/11.

into the Childrens Courts in 1914¹² and the Department itself began to rewrite the Act in 1916.¹³

The new Act included more indeterminate clauses granting greater discretionary powers to the police which allowed committal to trial on hearsay and reputation, including being 'known to the Police or the Department' and the 'likelihood' of permanent or serious injury being inflicted upon a child.

Secondly the Act extended the moral or 'rescue' clauses including another attack on juvenile female sexuality by allowing for the taking to Court of girls for behaving in an 'improper and disorderly manner'. It also allowed for the removal of children considered to be growing up 'without salutary parental control and education', or in circumstances exposing such children to idle dissolute lives.¹⁴

The third group of issues which arose pertained to the social hygiene and educational reforms emerging in this period, including truancy, or habituating opium dens.¹⁵ Mrs Waterworth, writing to the Premier in 1916 on behalf of the Womens Health Association, requested that 'health matters' be considered in the Bill and she continued, it is 'as much the duty of the State to protect children from disease as to protect them from starvation, cruelty and ignorance'.¹⁶ The New Act did consider this demand and incorporated a number of clauses qualified by health requirements.

12. CSD 22/203/139/18/14.

13. CSD 22/203/139/30/16.

14. The Childrens Charter 1918, Prelim. Sect. 4.

15. ibid., Pt. V. Sect. 41.

16. ibid., Pt. V.

Certain sections of the Infant Life Protection Act 1907 were also incorporated into the Childrens Charter and the Children of the State Department took over, from the Police Department, the registration and inspectorial functions of the Infant Life Protection Act. This piece of legislation dealt only with the care of children under five who were privately boarded out either in a foster home or a nursing home.¹⁷

A further amendment was passed in 1921 which brought under the control of the Department private homes which boarded out children over five years of age by giving it the right to inspect these homes and, if refused entry, to bring charges against the householder.¹⁸

Tasmania was amongst the last States to establish a 'fully fledged' Childrens Court. Inevitably it was South Australia which pioneered the separate court system for children. Miss C.E. Clark, who also began the boarding out scheme in that State was in the forefront of the lobbying to create the appropriate legislation and the State Children's Council established their own court room and detention room in 1890 prior to the passage of legislation in 1895. The press was not excluded. In 1907 the first paid probation officer was appointed.

The idea for special courts for children was gleaned from similar courts in Boston, Massachusetts. The Boston Courts were not separate and the same room was used for both adult and child

17. ibid., Pt. VII.

18. The Childrens Charter 1921, 12 Geo.V. No. 62.

except that the Court was cleared after the adult cases were dealt with. Boston also employed a probation officer who, with a team of volunteers supervised the children not committed to the care of the state.¹⁹

Mr Guillaume of the Victorian Neglected Children Department in his 1891 Charity Conference paper maintained that the colonies should follow the South Australian and Boston examples and establish Children's Courts.²⁰ It was not however, until 1906 that Victoria legislated to this end. By 1909 there were 230 probation officers in an honorary capacity and courts were closed both to the public and the press.²¹ F.R. Seager, the Secretary of the Tasmanian Department, writing to the Chief Secretary in 1909, also commented favourably on the informality of the Victorian courts, brought about by the attendance in the court of the police in plain clothes and suggested that this feature should be implemented in Tasmania.²²

The Police Magistrate conducted the proceedings in the Western Australian Courts established in 1907. By 1909 there were 233 Courts in the chief towns of Western Australia.²³

Queensland also established their Childrens Courts in 1907. Honorary or Special Justices were not allowed and all cases of summary offences committed by children were heard before stipendiary magistrates. Legal representation was provided for both sides and the press and public were excluded. There was no

19. Spence, op.cit., pp. 47-57.

20. Australasian Charity Conference 1890, p. 105.

21. Dependent Children Congress, 1909, p. 39.

22. CSD 22/125/25/1/109.

23. Dependent Children Congress, 1909, p. 55.

probationary system as such but staff of the Orphanage Branch acted in a supervisory role and the Minister had the power to dismiss the sentence when the child's behaviour improved.²⁴

A paper by Dr C.K. McKellar, President of the New South Wales Children's Relief Board, on 'Delinquent Children and Parental Control', maintained that the intention of the 1905 Childrens Court Act was to treat 'children as children not as criminals'. He also stated that the Act was to further insist upon a private home life and 'parental control' as a necessary factor in the 'reformation' of the delinquent. To this end a Special Magistrate with probation officers 'befriended' and 'advised' the erring child.²⁵ In 1910 a journalist for The Lone Hand, and the artist W. Jardine, visited the Paddington Childrens Court, and comparing it with the London Childrens Court, said,

The London [court]...is a police court, looks like a police court, possesses all the cut and dried red taperies and perfunctoriness of a police court. The Sydney one has the least possible resemblance to a police court. You do not even behold in it a policeman's uniform.²⁶

What is interesting, to the historian however, is the accompanying sketch. Contemporaries saw the Childrens Courts as a radical break from the past in their informality which differed from the procedures of the Police Courts, yet to today's eye the authoritarian structures of the Dock and Bench, (at least in the Sydney Court) still remained to impress upon the plaintiff, his or her position before the law.

24. ibid., p. 55.

25. ibid., p. 138.

26. The Lone Hand, October 1910, pp. 450-451.

The Children's Court

Oct. 1, 1910—**THE LONE HAND**

ses all the cut-and-dried red-taperies and perfunctoriness of a police court. The Sydney one has the least possible resemblance to a police court. You do not even behold in it a policeman's uniform. The magistrate, the deposition-clerk, and the solicitors are the only features of it that at all denote its character; and they are, of course, inevitable adjuncts of any court.

flicting properties of any court of justice are present. The "copper" is the same "copper" whom the child has



THE CHILDREN'S COURT
IN SYDNEY,

Where children are dealt with in a room that does not in any way suggest a police court.

In London the only really distinctive aspect of the tribunal is that only children's cases are heard before it. Bench, desks, dock, uniforms—all the awe-in-

been taught to look upon as a natural enemy with tyrannical proclivities. The magistrate is simply that dread arbiter of his ill-starred destiny whom he knows as the "beak." It is impossible to regard the "copper" as a pal; or the "beak" as a friend. Suggest its possibility to the small Cockney delinquent, and you will be edified by the amount of credence your impossible statement

Addressing the 1909 Congress on Childrens Courts in Tasmania Frances Edwards said that although Tasmania had a Childrens Court its work was nullified by the lack of both funds and probation work. She told the Congress that the Childrens Protection Society was agitating for and appealing to the Government to have all the Acts, which amounted to nineteen including amendments, consolidated, and a proper Childrens Act brought before the Parliament. She also said that the press was excluded from the existing Courts and names could not be published.²⁷

By the time the Childrens Charter Bill reached Parliament in 1918 the new features of the legislation had been demanded for over a decade. Its passage through both Houses was most probably the final triumph of the then disbanded Childrens Protection Society, but there was no-one left to cheer, and there was no protest against the class nature of the legislation such as The Clipper had so clearly enunciated in the 1890s and 1900s.

Opposition to the Bill in the Parliament came from two directions.

Firstly, men like the Hon. Ellis Dean, MLC, maintained that the Bill was too lenient. He advocated a 'more extensive' use of thrashing on recalcitrant boys, complained that the abolition of capital punishment was the 'thin edge of the wedge', and he objected to the idea of women magistrates.²⁸

The second protest which emerged was more interesting. It

27. Dependent Children Congress, 1909, p. 61

28. The Mercury, 30 August 1918.

shows the beginning of an alliance between the representatives of labour (then in opposition in Parliament) and middle class women and further illustrates the diminution of the status of the Children of the State Department, and the corresponding rise in the influence of the medical, legal, and education professions.

In 1918, prior to the Bill's introduction into Parliament it became known to the Child Welfare Association that sections of the Infant Life Protection Act were to be incorporated into the Childrens Charter. The Association, and the Chief Health Officer, Dr Park from the Public Health Department, conducted an intensive campaign to have the functions of the Infant Life Protection Act given to the Chief Health Officer and have the Child Welfare Association funded to assist in its supervision.²⁹ The Chief Secretary and Premier, W.H. Lee, MHA, was unimpressed by their deputations and did not alter the Bill. On the floor of the House, however, J.E. Ogden MHA, labour opposition, moved an amendment framed in terms of the demands of the Child Welfare Association. Speaking to this amendment he maintained that the Child Welfare Association, under the guidance of the Chief Health Officer could do 'better work' than the Departmental officers. He then continued;

The Child Welfare Association has been promoted by a body of self-sacrificing and public-spirited women who had raised funds for the appointment of a paid nurse to visit almost every home in which a baby was born.³⁰

The Premier maintained however, it would not be wise to

29. CSD 22/142/179/1/18.

30. The Mercury, 27 September 1918.

grant the Association legislative power to visit private homes for he would resent 'very much' a nurse insisting upon coming into his home.

Ogden's amendment was defeated but the public debate over the role of the Department and its work continued throughout the year.

In an editorial The Mercury neatly encapsulated the state of play in the fight for supremacy amongst the professions. The editorial said that the management of children especially youthful offenders could not be left to 'gentlemen' whose training had only been as clerks in the administrative work of a non-professional department. Then, commenting on the Annual Report of the Director of Education, Mr McCoy, which had called for a reformation of the Boys' Training School system, The Mercury was quick to point out to the Director that whilst psychological problems may be dealt with only by experts, it was really up to the medical men to determine the initial management of youthful delinquents.³¹

Dr Peter Lalor, the Acting Superintendent of the Mental Diseases Hospital, merging jingoistic nationalism with eugenics addressed a combined meeting of women's organizations at which he presented a paper entitled 'The Treatment and Control of Mental Defectives'. Echoing the recommendations of the 1908 British Royal Commission, Lalor proposed the classification and segregation of the 'feeble minded' so that the 'safety of the public and the purity of the race' may be safeguarded.³²

31. The Mercury, 4 June 1918.

32. The Mercury, 13 July 1918.

Following the presentation of Lalor's paper, delegates of the various organizations attending the meeting formed a deputation to the Chief Secretary requesting action in the direction suggested by Lalor.³³

The ramifications of the eugenicist stance taken by Lalor, the womens organizations and some parliamentarians did not make its full impact in Tasmania until the explicitly eugenicist Mental Deficiency Act was proclaimed in 1920.

The ideas and programmes however, did have an impact on the treatment of juvenile offenders, now called delinquents, and all other children committed to the care of the Department, for after 1916, and increasingly so after 1920, they were tested, and classified by psychological methods. In the case of Lance McCormack, and Mrs Collins' daughters, there was a derogation of their personal autonomy as they were declared retarded and placed under the guardianship of the State for an indeterminate period.

'Delinquency' replaced the old term 'juvenile offenders' in the first decade of the twentieth century and with it came a radical redefinition of juvenile crime. In the 1890s the young male offender was to be rescued from contamination by the criminal classes in prisons, and retrained in the 'wholesome influence of family life'.³⁴ In 1909 Dr McKellar, in his paper on 'Delinquent and Parental Control', discussed the evolution of attitudes away from the child as a criminal, to child criminals retained in a

33. The Mercury, 3 August 1918.

34. Australasian Charity Conference, 1890, p. 106.

'proper' family environment, and finally to the child being maintained in his own home, supervised by a probation officer who aims to 'morally uplift' the home as well as the child.³⁵ In Tasmania however, different social features emerged at the time juvenile courts were appearing in the other States. In this period the number of children admitted into the care of the State declined significantly and the social reformers concentrated on the problems of infant mortality.³⁶ It was only after 1911, when the committal rates increased dramatically that delinquency emerged as an issue of social reform in the guise of the 'boy problem'. By this time however, the 'sound training' in habits of good order, discipline and respect for constituted authority, necessary for turning bad citizens towards the way of good citizenship, was complicated by the pathology of delinquency.³⁷ Delinquency was now looked upon as an abnormal or subnormal condition and the programme for retraining the delinquent demanded firstly diagnosis and then different management programmes including the segregation of the feeble minded in training colonies or farm colonies.

The women's movement, emerging from their War work, adopted the more explicitly authoritarian ideas of the medical fraternity and vigorously pursued racial hygiene solutions to the new social crisis. It is however, too simplistic to suggest, as Godden does, that women now became beholden to selected men, for whilst in one sense it is an accurate description of one aspect of these

35. Dependent Children Congress, 1909, pp. 129-140.

36. Rate of Change in the Number of Children Maintained at the Expense of the State, Graph 1.

37. The Mercury, 4 June 1918.

feminists' actions, in Tasmania other issues arise which caused the same group of women to lose faith in men's solutions and begin to demand new political concessions. As Daniels and Murnane pointed out, while middle class feminists restricted themselves to the arena of women's issues many of the solutions these issues required, exacerbated gender clashes with men of the same class background. Following the 1890s suffrage campaign such conflicts within the middle class did not appear again until the end of the War. Dissatisfaction with men's solutions led Mrs Waterworth to say at the end of the deputation on the care of the feeble minded which she amongst others had made, that their frequent deputations were the consequence of having no representation in Parliament and that no man, however good his intentions, could represent women.³⁸

In the same year Frances Edwards and a number of other well known women formed a deputation to the Attorney-General to request changes to the 'age of consent' laws and in the procedures in the Courts when dealing with girls and women.³⁹ She went on to become the President of the Women's Association for Criminal Law Reform and was one of the first women created a Special Magistrate when the 1918 Childrens Charter was finally fully implemented in 1924.

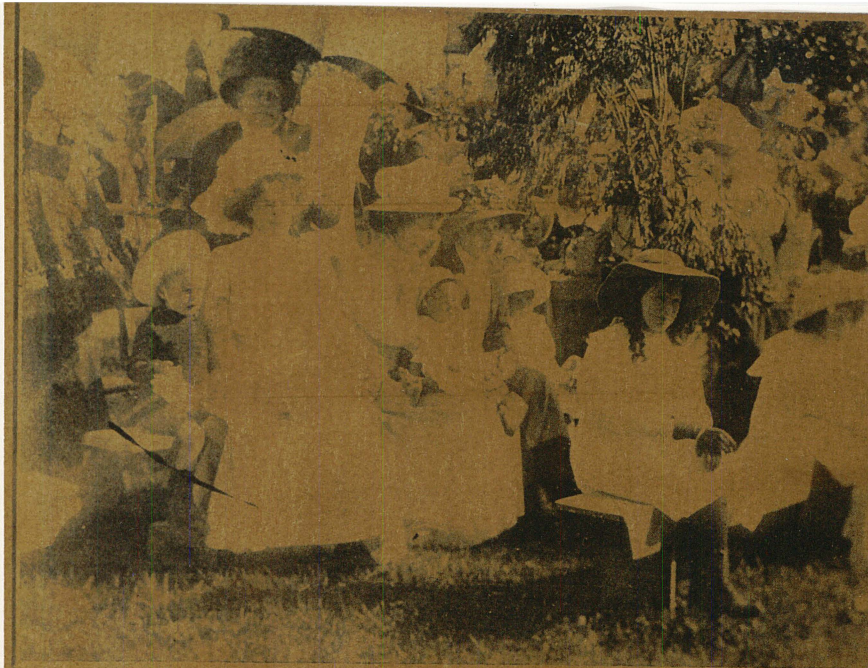
Illegitimacy and infant mortality re-emerged in 1918 in a replay of the 1905 race suicide scare. In 1907, the Infant Life Protection legislation with its associated surveillance agencies, was thought to be the answer to the high infant mortality rate but the figures released by the Commonwealth Childrens Bureau which

38. The Mercury, 3 August 1918.

39. The Mercury, 13 November 1918.

indicated that the rate of illegitimate infant mortality was three times greater than nuptial births, required solutions. These were found by the formation of the Child Welfare Association. In this new strategy to discipline the working class the feminists found new allies in the representatives of labour in the Parliament. In Tasmania in this period no organized political voice emerged to defend the interests of working class women and children, or to point out as The Clipper had, to an economic rather than a discipline solution to the problems experienced by this group.

In Chapter 4 a number of ideas were discussed dealing with the perceptions that both Departmental officers and social reformers alike shared of the children in their care. It was suggested that the language used by the State and its agent when rescuing the 'little waifs' from the iniquitous surroundings of their households, was an ideological construct which hid as much as it revealed. It was also suggested that the concern expressed about the childrens' well being represented a concern for the interest of the class, the State and its agents represented rather than one which considered either the childrens' interests or those of their parents. Following the rise in eugenicist thinking social constructs of childhood changed accordingly, but as yet, neither the doctors nor the social reformers granted children the rights to express their own emotional life. Whatever the current ideology tended to be, the future for children committed to the Department did not vary significantly. Domestic servitude for most of the girls remained the norm into the 1930s though some were able to take on clerical work after the compulsory age for education was lifted. By 1918 the Boys' Training School was considered



KENNERLY BOYS HOME FETE, 1910.

inadequate and suggestions were made that the School be relocated in the country to facilitate better farm training and improve the boys' skills prior to their being apprenticed to suitable farmers as well as removing them, from the harmful city environment.⁴⁰

The introduction of the probation system and the appointment of Special Magistrates enacted in the 1918 Childrens Charter were the culmination of the radical reappraisal of children's services commencing in the 1890s and implemented throughout the Commonwealth, with the exception of Tasmania, by the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century.

The 1890s initiatives meant that greater power was granted to the State through the legislature, to intervene in the private sphere of the home. This new type of legislation allowed the State through its employees and selected voluntary organizations to enter the homes of the 'respectable' working class previously impervious to the gaze of the bourgeoisie and allowed the State to remove children from the homes of the 'unrespectable' poor.

This new form of surveillance and discipline was first implemented in the Boarding Out Scheme which allowed the children of the 'unrespectable' class to be placed in the homes of the 'respectable' working class⁴¹ who then came under the scrutiny of the visiting committees and Departmental inspecting officers.

40. The Mercury, 3 June 1918.

41. See Appendix I, Boarding Out Regulations under The Public Charities Act, 1873. 7 November 1881 (Hobart Gazette, 15 November 1881).

The second wave of intrusion into family life followed the introduction of the probationary scheme. This scheme was only capable of 'effective' work through the co-option by the State of the organizations which had promoted these schemes to the Government clearly illustrating the interrelationship of the State and the promotional social reform groups through the entire period.

Tasmania was the last State to fully implement the reforms relating to the care of juvenile offenders evolved in the 1890s. Thus fittingly the 1918 Childrens Charter brings to a conclusion the period under consideration.

One of the most significant historical features which emerged as an aspect of this thesis is the failure of the social reformers with or without the aid of the State, to entirely discipline the working class population in Tasmania. Although it is difficult to assess historically the unorganized resistance by groups to outside interference it can be seen to be occurring in a number of ways. Individual acts of disobedience such as removing a child from the care of the Department illegally or by vanishing from sight, beyond the reach of the Child Welfare Association Nurse's prying visits, are important acts of self-determination. It is the constant change of the strategies adopted by the State and the social reformers throughout the period which best illustrate working class resistance.

TABLES

INDEX OF TABLES

- (1) Abbreviations
- (2) Inmates of Institutions before and just after 23.10.1896.
- (3) Committals 31.12.1900 - 31.12.1901.
- (4) Committals 1.7.1905 - 30.6.1906.
- (5) Committals 1.7.1910 - 30.6.1911.
- (6) Committals 1.7.1915 - 30.6.1916.
- (7) Admissions 1.7.1920 - 30.6.1921.
- (8) Admissions 1.7.1925 - 30.6.1926.
- (9) Admissions 1.7.1928 - 30.6.1929.
- (10) Summary of Vital Statistics 1891 - 1931.
- (11) Variation Between Urban and Rural Ex-nuptial Births
for the years 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Adopted
ABD	Ashley Boys' Home, Deloraine
B	Boarded Out
BHH	Boys' Home, Hobart
BM	Boarded out to mother
BO	" " " other
BTS	Boys' Training School
CSD	Children of the State Department
D	Died
DNC	Department of Neglected Children
DPP	Discharged on parole to parents
GHL	Girls' Home, Launceston
GIH	" Industrial School, Hobart
GIL	" " " , Launceston
GTS	" Training School
HBL	Home for Boys, Launceston
LM	Licensed to mother
PI	Placed in infirmary
PS	Placed in service
RR	Returned to relatives or parents
SJO	St Joseph's Orphanage
T	Transferred to Charitable Institutions
YONC	Youthful Offenders and Neglected Children

INMATES OF CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS BEFORE AND JUST AFTER THE
YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN ACT 23.10.1896.

Institutions	Maintained 1st quarter 1896		Admitted till 31.12.1896		Committed 23.10.1896 - 31.12.1896		Maintained on 31.12.1896	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
BHH		no report					30	
BTS	84		29				47	
GTS		11		6				14
GIH		41		3				37
GIL		no report						19
SJO		50		14				50
HBL								
GHL								
ABD								
Subtotal	Incomplete				nil		77	120
Children in Institutions							197	
B	80							
T								
PS								
A								
BM								
BO								
LM								
RR								
DPP								
PI								
D								
Totals	80+		Incomplete		nil		197	

Source: Department of Neglected Children : First Annual Report (No.21)

COMMITTALS UNDER THE YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN
ACT AND CHILDREN MAINTAINED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE STATE
31.12.1900 - 31.12.1901.

Institutions	Maintained on 31.12.1900		Admitted during year		Committed during year under the Act		Maintained on 31.12.1901	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
BHH	20		6				25	
BTS	51		32		14		57	
GTS		9		1				6
GIH		20		2		2		19
GIL		18		1		1		14
SJO		25		2		2		23
HBL								
GHL								
ABD								
Subtotal	71	72	38	6	14	5	82	62
Children in Institutions	143		44		19		144	
B	177		44		44		174	
T					6			
PS					4			
A								
BM								
BO								
LM								
RR								
DPP								
PI								
D								
Total in care of DNC					73			
Totals	320		88				318	

Source: Department of Neglected Children Report, 1900-1901.

COMMITTALS UNDER THE YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN
ACT AND CHILDREN MAINTAINED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE STATE
1.7.1905 - 30.6.1906.

Institutions	Maintained on 1.7.1905		Admitted during year		Committed during year under Act		Maintained on 30.6.1906	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
BHH	25		5		3		24	
BTS	38		33		8		35	
GTS								
GIH		17		3		3		18
GIL		15		4		4		15
SJO		22		2		3		18
HBL								
GHL								
ABD								
Subtotal	63	54	38	9	11	10	59	51
Children in Institutions	117		47		21		110	
B	125		16		16		117	
T					9			
PS					4			
A					1			
BM								
BO								
LM								
RR								
DPP								
PI								
D								
Total in care of DNC					51			
Totals	242		63				227	

Source: Department of Neglected Children Report 1905-6 (No. 2)

COMMITTALS UNDER THE YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN
ACT AND CHILDREN MAINTAINED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE STATE
1.7.1910 - 30.6.1911

Institutions	Maintained on 1.7.1910		Admitted during year		Committed during year under Act		Maintained on 30.6.1911	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
BHH	29		7		7		32	
BTS	21		36		7		17	
GTS								
GIH		17		5		5		21
GIL		20		1		4		19
SJO		14		3		3		13
HBL								
GHL								
ABD								
Subtotal	50	51	43	9	14	12	49	53
Children in Institutions	101		52		26		102	
B	105		43				121	
T					3			
PS					5			
A								
BM					11			
BO					27			
LM					1			
RR								
DPP								
PI								
D								
Total in care of DNC					73			
Totals	206		95				223	

Source: Department of Neglected Children Report 1910-11 (No. 32).

COMMITTALS UNDER THE YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN
ACT MAINTAINED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE STATE 1.7.1915 -
30.6.1916

Institutions	Maintained on 1.7.1915		Admitted during year		Committed during year under Act		Maintained on 30.6.1916	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
BHH	27		13		9		33	
BTS	30		69		27		32	
GTS								
GIH		20		5		4		21
GIL		21		10		10		22
SJO		24		12		8		29
HBL								
GHL								
ABD								
Subtotal	57	65	82	27	36	22	65	72
Children in Institutions	122		109		58		137	
B	193		52		52		208	
T					1			
PS					1			
A								
BM								
BO								
LM								
RR					1			
DPP								
PI								
D								
Total in care of DNC					113			
Totals	315		161				345	

Source: Department of Neglected Children Report 1915-16 (No. 52).

ADMISSIONS BY THE CHILDREN OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND CHILDREN
MAINTAINED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE STATE 1.7.1920 - 30.6.1921.

Institutions	Maintained on 1.7.1920		Admitted during year		Admitted under "Children's Charter"		Maintained on 30.6.1921	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
BHH	29		9		8		31	
BTS	44		91		37		67	
GTS								
GIH		23		5		1		24
GIL		31		2		3		23
SJO		34		6		5		33
HBL								
GHL								
ABD								
Subtotal	73	88	100	13	45	9	98	80
Children in Institutions	161		113		54		178	
B	295		72		61		322	
T					5			
PS								
A					3			
BM								
BO								
LM								
RR					3			
DPP								
PI								
D					3			
Total in care of DNC					129			
Totals	456		185				500	

Source: Report 1920-1921.

ADMISSIONS BY THE CHILDREN OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND CHILDREN
MAINTAINED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE STATE 1.7.1925 - 30.6.1926.

Institutions	Maintained on 1.7.1925		Admitted during year		Admitted under CSD		Maintained on 30.6.1926	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
BHH	25		10		8		30	
BTS								
GTS								
GIH		20		7		5		24
GIL								
SJO		20		10		7		25
HBL	32		5		3		31	
GHL		30		6		5		28
ABD	56		62		27		68	
Subtotal	113	70	77	23	38	17	129	77
Children in Institutions	183		100		55		206	
B	352		141		90		386	
T					2			
PS					3			
A					3			
BM								
BO								
LM								
RR								
DPP					17			
PI					3			
D								
Total in care DNC					173			
Totals	535		241				592	

Source: Report 1925-26 (No. 41).

ADMISSIONS BY THE CHILDREN OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND CHILDREN
MAINTAINED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE STATE 1.7.1928 - 30.6.1929.

Institutions	Maintained on 1.7.1928		Admitted during year		Admitted under C S D		Maintained on 30.6.1929	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
BHH	30		10		9		28	
BTS								
GTS								
GIH		32		5		4		31
GIL								
SJO		22		2				22
HBL	26		6		3		29	
GHL		29		4		4		26
ABD	58		61		35		67	
Subtotal	114	83	77	11	47	8	124	79
Children in Institutions	197		88		55		203	
B	385		112		51		370	
T					1			
PS					2			
A					3			
BM								
BO								
LM								
RR								
DPP					10			
PI					1			
D								
Total in care DNC					123			
Totals	582		200				573	

Source: Report 1928-29.

SUMMARY OF VITAL STATISTICS 1891 - 1931

Year	POPULATION			Marriage	Live Births	Death	Infant death under 1 yr.	Rate/1000 people			Deaths under one year per 1000 live births
	TOTAL	Male	Female					Marriage	Live births	Death	
1891	146 667	77 560	69 107	988	4971	2234	470	6.74	33.89	15.23	94.55
1901	172 475	89 624	82 851	1338	4930	1814	439	7.76	28.58	10.52	89.05
1911	191 211	97 591	93 620	1477	5437	1927	403	7.72	28.43	10.08	74.12
1921	213 877	107 767	106 110	1668	5755	2197	451	7.80	26.91	10.27	78.37
1931	223 390	110 696	112 694	1502	4762	2057	219	6.72	21.32	9.21	45.99

Source: Statistics of Tasmania 1891 - 1931.

VARIATION BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL EX-NUPTIAL
BIRTHS AS FOR PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL BIRTHS
FOR THE YEARS 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931

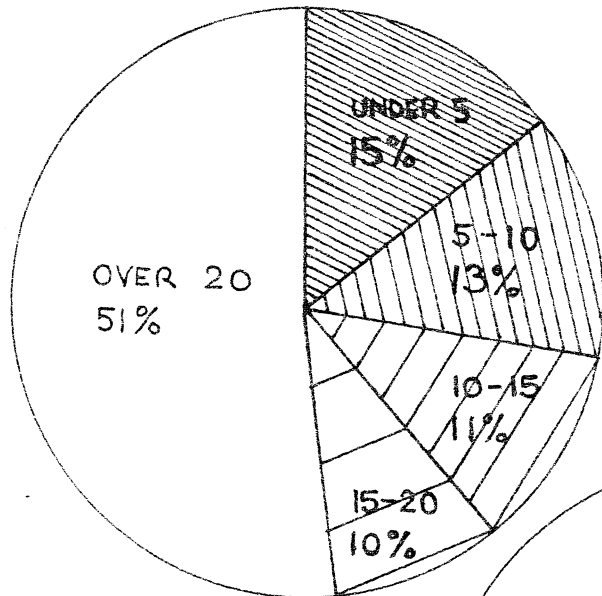
Year	Place	Total No. of Births	Ex-nuptial			% of Ex-Nuptial
			M	F	Total	
1891	H	1094	28	34	62	4.56
	L	738	22	17	39	5.28
	C	3139	42	42	84	2.69
	TAS.	4971	92	93	185	3.72
1901	H	909	49	34	83	9.13
	L	595	34	38	72	12.10
	C	3426	65	73	138	4.02
	TAS.	4930	148	145	293	5.94
1911	H	1157	41	51	92	7.95
	L	790	39	37	76	9.62
	C	3497	61	45	106	3.03
	TAS.	5444	141	133	274	4.03
1921	H	1583	56	54	110	6.95
	L	929	46	39	85	9.15
	C	3243	56	57	113	3.48
	TAS.	5755	158	150	308	5.35
1931	H	994	27	30	57	5.73
	L	582	12	19	31	5.33
	C	3186	74	71	145	4.55
	TAS	4762	113	120	233	4.89

Sources: Statistics of Tasmania, 1891 - 1931
(Government Publications).

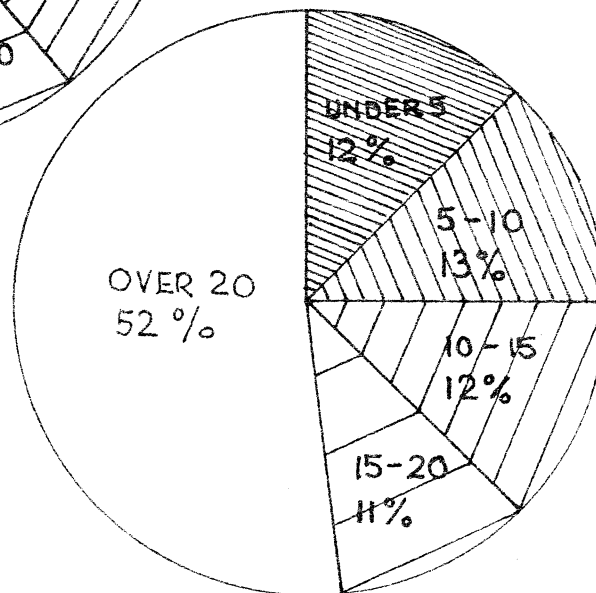
H = Hobart; L = Launceston; C = Country; TAS. = Tasmania.

DIAGRAM

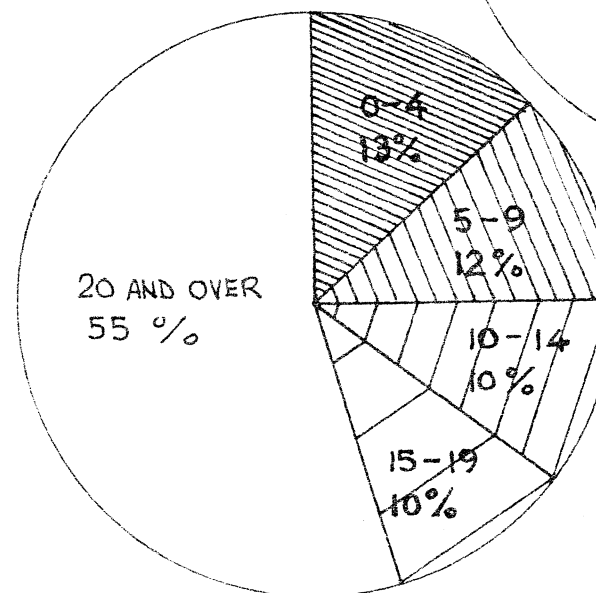
NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND JUVENILES IN
PROPORTION TO TOTAL POPULATION



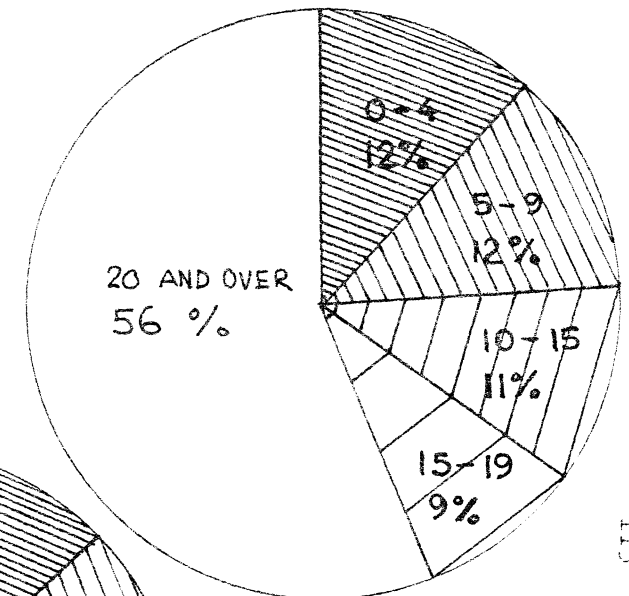
1891



1901



1911



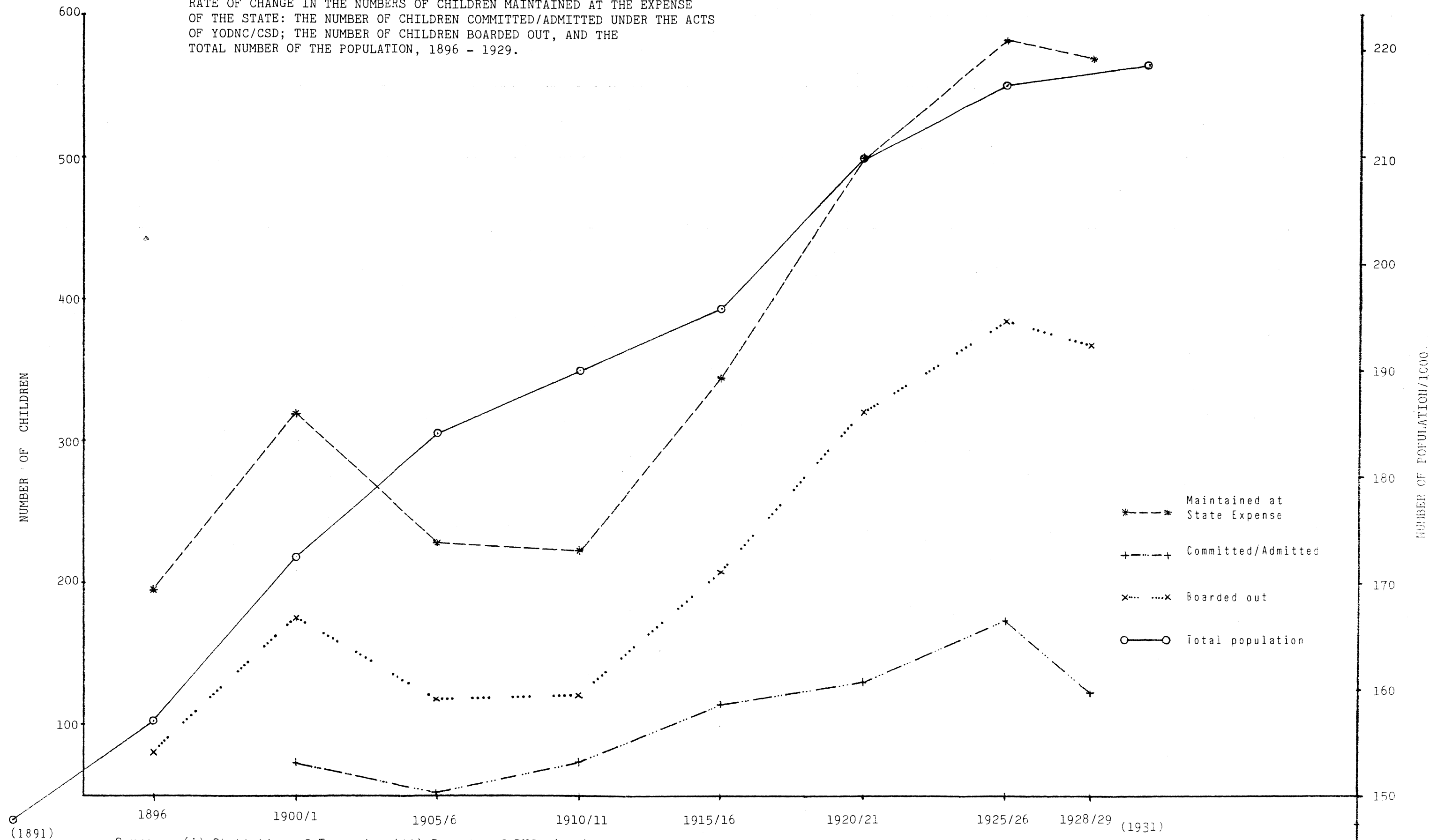
1921

Source:
Statistics of
Tasmania.

GRAPHS

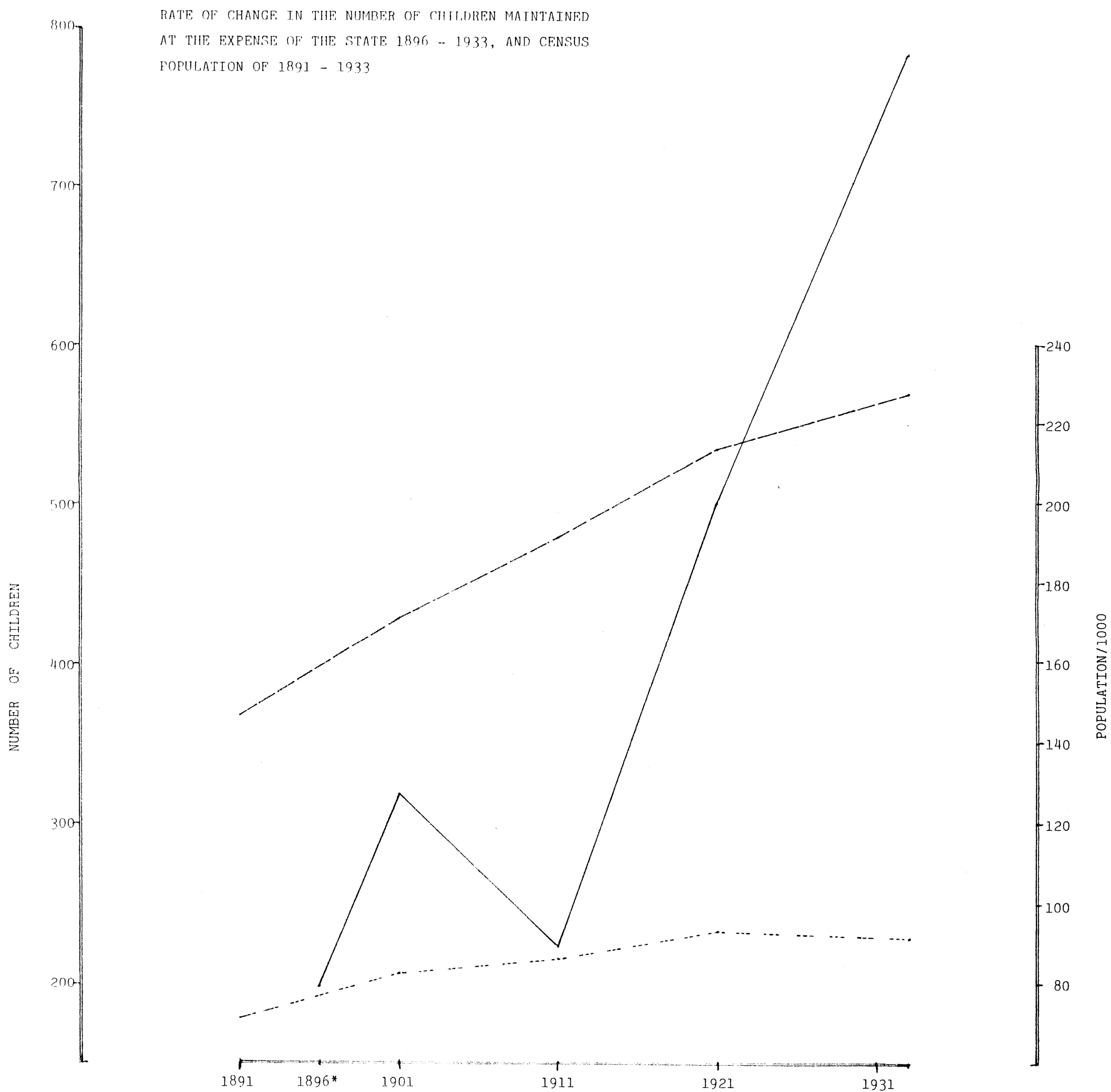
GRAPH I

RATE OF CHANGE IN THE NUMBERS OF CHILDREN MAINTAINED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE STATE: THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN COMMITTED/ADMITTED UNDER THE ACTS OF YODNC/CSD; THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN BOARDED OUT, AND THE TOTAL NUMBER OF THE POPULATION, 1896 - 1929.



Sources: (i) Statistics of Tasmania, (ii) Reports of DNC, (iii) Tables (1) - (10).

GRAPH II



— No of children maintained
 - - - Total Population of Tasmania
 . . . Population under 20

Year	Rate of change in %		
	OF TOTAL POPULATION %	OF POPULATION UNDER 20 %	OF CHILDREN MAINTAINED %
1891 - 1901	17.60	15.82	(38.05)*
1901 - 1911	10.86	4.63	-29.87
1911 - 1921	11.85	8.10	124.22
1921 - 1931**	5.35	-2.21	35.60

Sources: (i) Statistics of Tasmania; (ii) Reports of DNC; (iii) Tables (1) - (10).

* Reports for 1896 are incomplete. No. of children presumed to be greater.

** Value for population is interpolated from census figures 1921 and 1933.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

1. Boarding Out Regulations under The Public Charities Act, 1873. 7 November 1881 (Hobart Gazette, 15 November 1881).
2. Example of a "case file" from the records of the Neglected Children Department. (SWD 1/15/942).

APPENDIX 1

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

No. 285.

Colonial Secretary's Office, 7th November, 1881.

IN accordance with the provisions of "The Public Charities Act, 1873," the Governor in Council has been pleased to make the following Regulations for the boarding-out destitute and neglected children.

As the success of the proposed scheme must mainly depend upon the constitution and effective action of Local Visiting Committees, the Government desire to invite the hearty co-operation of ladies and gentlemen in the prosecution of this good work throughout the Island.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.—

1. The Central Committee for boarding-out destitute children shall consist of not less than three persons, and the Administrator of Charitable Grants shall be the Chairman of such Committee. The duty of such Committee shall be to regulate and supervise the boarding-out and apprenticing of children under "The Public Charities Act, 1873," and these Regulations.

LOCAL VISITING COMMITTEES.

2. No child to be boarded out in any district until a Visiting Committee shall have been established therein.
3. One or more Committees, to consist of two ladies and one gentleman, in Hobart and Launceston, and of two ladies and one gentleman in each district in the country, may be appointed by the Governor, and shall be called "Local Visiting Committees."
4. The duties of the Visiting Committee will be—
 - a. To recommend to the Central Committee fit and proper persons to be entrusted with children within their district.
 - b. To visit every child boarded out not less than once a month.
 - c. To make a report in writing to the Central Committee every quarter, setting forth the apparent physical condition, the conduct, the attendance at church or chapel, Sunday and public school, the state of clothing and bedding, the nature of sleeping accommodation, the quantity and quality of food of every such child.
 - d. To exercise a general supervision over the children and the persons in charge of them; to investigate any complaints made either by the children or their foster parents; and in cases of urgency to remove any child from one home to another, reporting, however, such removal and the reasons of it without delay to the Central Committee.
 - e. To report to the Central Committee the death or sickness of any child, or any accident or special occurrence happening in regard to any of them.
 - f. To find suitable places, if possible, for boys and girls when they shall have arrived at an age to be apprenticed out, and to watch over their treatment whilst so apprenticed in their district.
5. All applications for the relief of destitute children under the boarding-out system must be made to the Chairman of the Central Committee for consideration and decision.

REGULATIONS.

1. Every foster parent for children under these Regulations must be a female of good character, in good health, and, if married, her husband must be of the same faith—that is, either Protestant or Roman Catholic—as herself.
2. Applications for children must be sent in to the Visiting Committee, and must be accompanied by the certificate of a clergyman of the church attended by the applicant and her family as to the moral fitness of herself, and, if married, of her husband, to be entrusted with the training of children.
3. Every foster parent having children within the school ages specified in "The Public Schools Act" must show by the certificate of a schoolmaster or mistress that they are attending school in accordance with the requirements of that Act, or give a satisfactory reason for their being detained therefrom. Any neglect

of this regulation will entail the forfeiture of the week's allowance, and the immediate removal of the children from the charge of such foster parent.

4. The family of a foster parent must not at any time consist of more than seven, including the children boarded from the Government, but exclusive of herself, and, if married, her husband. No more than four children—except in the case of families of more than four—may be placed with one foster parent.

5. The residence of a foster parent must not be more than two miles from a public school under the Board of Education, or five miles from the residence of some member of Committee. The accommodation provided must be sufficient, and suitable and separate sleeping rooms must be provided for male and female children when above the age of nine years. Children above nine years may not sleep in the same room with married people.

6. No boarders or lodgers (children or adults) other than the children boarded from the Government may be received by foster parents, nor may a foster parent or her husband be the holder of any licence for the sale of fermented or spirituous liquors.

7. The children must be properly fed and clothed, and kept supplied by the foster parents with sufficient and seasonable bedding.

8. Children when first boarded out will be supplied by the Government with clothes as per annexed Schedule; but the foster parents will afterwards be required to keep up the supply of clothing on the same scale, and in good serviceable order, at their own expense. Any deficiencies in the proper number of articles reported by the Visiting Committee will be made good by the Government, and the cost deducted from the weekly payments made to the foster parent. The clothing to remain the property of the children, and to be kept constantly clean and in good repair.

9. The children will be visited from time to time by the Members of the Visiting Committee, who, as well as the members of the Central Committee, or any person authorised by them, shall have free access to them at all times.

10. Should a child meet with an accident, or become ill, it must be taken without delay to the medical officer hereinafter mentioned, or, if it be not practicable to take the child, the medical officer must be called in to attend to it, under such regulations as regards charges as may from time to time be made.

11. The foster parents will be expected to attend to the moral and religious training of the children, and send them regularly to Sunday School. When of a suitable age they must all attend the same place of worship as the foster parent and her family; and clergymen of the denomination to which they belong must also be allowed every reasonable facility for imparting to them religious instruction. Protestant children may only be placed with Protestants, and Catholics with Catholics.

12. Should a child meet with an accident, become seriously ill, die, or run away, information must be at once given to the Visiting Committee for report to the Central Committee.

13. Children received under these Regulations may not be transferred by foster parents, or placed permanently under the care of any other person, without the consent in writing of the Chairman of the Central Committee. But the Visiting Committee have power in any case which they consider urgent to remove children from foster parents in anticipation of the directions of the Central Committee. Foster parents may not change their residence without giving two weeks' notice of the proposed change to the Visiting Committee, nor unless the accommodation provided in the dwelling they propose to remove to shall be approved by such Committee.

14. Payments will be made at a rate not exceeding 5s. 0d. per week for each child. Payment to cease in the case of children who have attained the age of twelve years, when they can either be returned to the Government or retained by the foster parents without payment, or on such terms as may be agreed on. If retained after reaching the age of thirteen years, they must then be apprenticed under "The Public Charities Act, 1873."

15. Deductions may be made from the weekly payments, at the discretion of the Central Committee, for any neglect or improper treatment of the children.

16. Where practicable a medical officer will be appointed for every district in which children are boarded out. His duty will be to visit the children not less than once in every three months, and to attend to them in illness or in case of accident, either at the residence of the foster parent or his own residence or surgery, as may be necessary, and to supply all requisite medicines and medical appliances. He will be required to report to the Central Committee any deficiency of accommodation, any defects in the sanitary condition of the residence, insufficient supply of food or clothing, or absence of cleanliness, and generally any ill-treatment of the children or cause for complaint that may come under his notice; and an allowance for such attendance and supervision as above mentioned will be paid by the Government at the rate of £1 per child per annum.

17. The Central Committee may remove or direct the removal of children at any time it considers it necessary or expedient. Persons taking children under these Regulations will be at liberty to return them to the Government upon giving four weeks' notice of their intention to do so to the Visiting Committee.

SCHEDULE TO BOARDING-OUT REGULATIONS, (Clause 8).

BOYS.		GIRLS.	
Articles.	Quantity.	Articles.	Quantity.
Boots, pairs.....	2	Boots, pairs	2
Caps or Hats	2	Hats	2
Jackets	2	Jackets	2
Socks, pairs.....	3	Dresses.....	2
Vests	2	Chemises	2
Trousers, pairs	2	Stockings or Socks, pairs.....	3
Shirts	2	Drawers (girls over 8 years)	2
Belt	1	Petticoats	2
Flannels*	2	Pinafores or Aprons.....	2
Handkerchiefs	2	Flannels*	2
		Handkerchiefs	2
		Collars, Linen (girls over 12).....	2
		Night-gowns	2

* For those children only who wear them by direction of a medical man.

By Command,

WM. MOORE, *Colonial Secretary.*

NOTE.—Communications relating to the boarding-out of destitute children, and intended for the consideration of the Central Committee, must be addressed as follows:—

The Chairman

of the Central Committee for

Boarding-out Destitute Children,

Public Buildings,

HOBART.

APPENDIX 2



CHIEF SECRETARY'S DEPARTMENT.

FILE DOCKET.

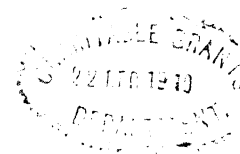
Department Jago, Sylvia

Subject _____

Committed to Training School for three years for Larceny.

(This sheet is not to be used for correspondence.)

Boarded out with Miss Williams, Augusta Rd	21.12.10
Adopted by Mr M. Adams, Claremont	16.1.11
Returned & boarded with Mr Goodman Macquarie St	28.11.11
To service with Mr R. A. Smiths York Crescent	23.3.12



(5.) ORDER OF DETENTION AND COMMITTAL TO A TRAINING SCHOOL.

TASMANIA } To all Constables, and to the Keeper of the Gaol in the State of
TO WIT: } in Tasmania.

WHEREAS *Sylvia Jago* late of *Lattrobe*
in Tasmania

under the age of Sixteen years, to wit, of the age of *twelve* years, *one of His*

was this day duly convicted before the undersigned, *one of His* Majesty's Justices of
the Peace, for that *under a Police Magistrate*

the said Sylvia Jago did, on the night of
December 1910 at Lattrobe in Tasmania, feloniously steal, take, and carry
away one book of the value of 12/- from the premises of Joshua Thomas of Lattrobe,
against the property of the said Joshua Thomas.

his said offence should be imprisoned in the Gaol at _____ in

* Strike this out
if offender not
to be kept for
hard labour.

Tasmania, *and there to be kept for hard labour* for the space of _____, and

in pursuance of "The Youthful Offenders, Destitute and Neglected Children Act, 1896,"

the said *Sylvia Jago* was thereby sentenced to be sent at the expiration
of the term of imprisonment aforesaid to the *Gaol* Training

School at *New Town* in Tasmania aforesaid, the Managers whereof are
willing to receive *her* therein, *as*

_____ and to be there detained for the period of
three years commencing from *and after* the day of *this* date hereof

These are therefore to command you and each of you to take the said *Sylvia*
Jago and *her* safely to convey *her* to the Gaol and there to

deliver him to the Keeper thereof, together with this precept, and we do hereby
command you the said Keeper of the said Gaol to receive the said _____

into your custody into the said Gaol, there to imprison him

* Strike this out
if offender not
to be kept for
hard labour.

and there to be kept for hard labour for the space of _____ And we further

command you the said Keeper to send the said _____

at the expiration of his term of imprisonment aforesaid, as and in the manner directed by

"The Youthful Offenders, Destitute and Neglected Children Act, 1896," to the Training
School at *New Town* aforesaid, _____

_____ together with this Order: And
for so doing this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given under *my* hand this *20th* day of *Decr* 189 *1910*
at *Lattrobe* in Tasmania aforesaid.

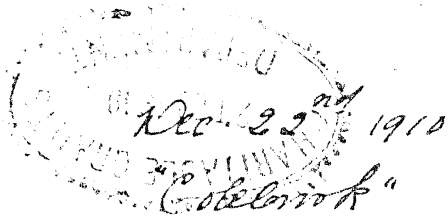
John A. G. J.
Police Magistrate.

Dear Mr. Seager.

Enclosed is warrant that the policeman
gave me with the child Sylvia Jago. I intended to
leave it last night, but as there were no lights in the
office I thought it a shame to disturb you. Wishing
you the Season's compliments

Yours Sincerely.

B. E. Williams.



Memor.



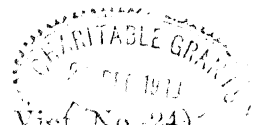
Sir

I beg to report for your information
that Sylvia Jago age 12 years has this day been
committed to the Training School at New Town
for a term of three years by L.E. Chambers Esq
at the Latrobe Police Court, for the larceny
of a Bullock hide. She will leave this station
by the early Coach Train in the morning the
29th inst. in charge of Trooper Mears, who will
hand her to the Hubert Escott Constable.
Kindly have her pick up at the New Town Rail
Station, by Express Train,

F.R. Seager Esq }
Secretary
New Town

Yours Obediently
J. Montgomery
Constable 97
20. 12. 10

402
~~TASMANIA.~~



Neglected Children and Youthful Offenders Act (60 Vict. No. 24).

INFORMATION concerning the Child hereunder mentioned who was sent to the*

by the Bench at *Lalorke*

on the *20* day of *December* 191*0*

* Here insert "Care of Department for Neglected Children," "Industrial School," or "Training School."

1. Name in full— *Pybria Jago.*
2. Religion— *Church of England*
3. Date of birth— *23^d November 1898*
4. Native place— *Lalorke Tasmania*
5. Cause of committal— *Larceny*
6. If previously committed (if so give place and date)— *No.*
7. General character and any special proclivities *Inclined to steal.*
8. In what school, if any, and class therein *Lalorke State School, Class 3*
9. If ever employed, give particulars— *No.*

PARTICULARS OF PARENTS.

	FATHER.	MOTHER.
1. Name	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Sarah Jane Jago nee Connolly</i>
2. If living	<i>—</i>	<i>—</i>
3. Address	<i>—</i>	<i>Lalorke</i>
4. Occupation	<i>—</i>	<i>Domestic duties</i>
5. Circumstances, reputed	<i>—</i>	<i>Poor</i>
6. Character (especially as to sobriety)	<i>—</i>	<i>Sober.</i>
7. Where employed	<i>—</i>	<i>—</i>
8. Names and addresses of other near relatives, if of good repute	<i>George Banfield, Dalke Lalorke</i>	

ANY FURTHER PARTICULARS.

See

The sister of this girl is now married to a man named Jas Connolly. and is in very poor circumstances

J. Connolly

(Signature of Warden, Police Magistrate, Member of Police Force, or other Informant.)

The Secretary
Neglected Children's Department,
New Town.

Date, *24. 12. 10*

191

N. Co. 10
942

Dear Mr. Seeger

Will get the mail
mon. if possible tonight at 5 pm.
It is rather short notice, as I did
not get any word about it, until I
received your ~~note~~ & just now

Yours Sincerely &
J. H. Haske
P. Williams.

"Colbrook"

When she was sent down by the dog band over to the Adams
with no clothing only a blanket and a shirt. I think I will
approve it when I see just to get Adams to give her the usual
supply of clothing. Considering the Dept. will be relieved of the cost of her keep.

J. H. Moore
N. Officer

The Secretary
N. S. Dept.

REC 942

77 Argyle Street
17th January 1911

Sir As I first William Captain
of this girl great failing and
trouble she has to keep the girl
Sylvia Jago from the boys as she
will follow them about everywhere. She
was frightened to keep her as she
felt the responsibility to great
and asked if I would make other
arrangement for her. Knowing that
Mr Adams at Claremont wanted
a girl for company as her husband
Charles Henry Adams is a Smith and
is away in town all day I thought
the girl would suit her and it
would be a good place to
send the girl as Mr Adams has
only two little children and
they have no near neighbours. The
School is not very far away
and she has promised to take
the girl and keep her at school until
she is 13 and then if she is a
good girl will sign for her under
the usual conditions for five years
Adams has 15 acres of land several acres
in Orchard and a good new four roomed
house on it and I think they will
give the girl a good home. Miss Williams
paid up to the 16th Mr Adams to keep her under
payment. I quite overlooked the usual
supply of new clothing for this girl

Approved - Also purchase of necessary clothing
up to 25/-.

Notice
L. Pearce
23.1.11

S. A. Leaper
Secretary
18/1/11

Dear Mr. Peace

It has been another
a week in I did not get word that
Sybil was to go until 3-30 &
we were fruit picking so you can
just guess. Hope she's in time.
She only came in what she stood
up in so I could not send her away
very nice! The lady she is
going to will find her a very useful
help and be truthful & she
wants to be kept well away from
boys ~~or~~ perhaps it is a well
for the child's sake to know
the

Yours in haste
Ed. Williams

C. H. Adams, Claremont wants to
return Sylvia Jago to the Department.
He says his wife is not strict enough
with her and that she is destructive,
a liar & a thief - Dirty -

Told her to keep her until we
got another place for her - Thinks she
would be alright with a firm mistress.

Born 23-11-898.

C. 10/5/11

Beard her out when home desirable

11.3.12/5/11

W. P. 11/12

T.

17th May, 1911.

Mr. C. W. Adams,

Clarendon.

Dear Sir,

The transfer of Sylvia Jago has not been overlooked and directly another home is found for her I will send you word.

Yours faithfully,

SECRETARY.

T.

27th May, 1911.

Mr. C. H. Adams,

Claremont.

Dear Sir,

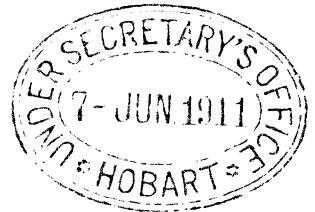
A home has been found for Sylvia Jago, and I shall be glad if you will deliver her to Mrs. Goodman of 157 Macquarie Street, at your earliest convenience.

Yours faithfully,

SECRETARY.

Charitable Grants Department
7th June 1911

The Administration of Charitable Grants



The girl Sylvia Gago was transferred from
Mr Adams Claremont to Mr Goodman's
Macquarie St on 25th May 1911. The child has
very few clothes & what there are are of a
very poor nature

H. M. Crawford
Inspecting Nurse

Approval given for purchase of clothing
to the extent of £——

H.S.P.
8/6/11



91. C. D. G.I.
942

Department for Neglected Children,

~~Delo-Toton,~~ Hobart,

9th January, 1912.

Mrs. Emily Goodman,
Macquarie Street,
H O B A R T.

Dear Madam,

Herewith please find form of indenture
which will apprentice SYLVIA JAGO to your
service until the 23rd December, 1916.

Please sign and return at your earliest
convenience.

Yours faithfully,

SECRETARY.

This Indenture made the

first

day of December

1911 between

Harry Cuffingham Packer

being and as Secretary, Neglected Children's Dept., under the provisions of "The Youthful Offenders, Destitute and Neglected Children Act, 1896,"

(the said person being hereinafter called the Secretary), of the one part and

Emily Goodman

of

Macquarie St., Hobart of the other part, WITNESSETH that in exercise

of the powers conferred on the Secretary by the said Act, and in consideration of

the payments to be made by the said Emily Goodman

in manner hereinafter expressed, the Secretary hereby puts, places, and binds

Sylvia Jago

who is a Ward of the Neglected Children's Department,

and is of the age of 13 years or thereabouts,

as Apprentice to the said

Emily Goodman

to learn the trade or calling of a servant

and with her to dwell, remain, and serve from the date of these presents until the

23rd day of December 1916 during all which time the said

Apprentice shall faithfully serve her the said Emily Goodman

and obey all her lawful commands, and shall not frequent any public-house or disorderly

house, nor absent her self from the service of the said Emily Goodman

by day or night without her leave, but in all things as a faithful Apprentice shall

behave herself towards her the said Emily Goodman

and all her family during the said term. AND the said Emily

Goodman, in consideration of the faithful service so to be performed by

the Apprentice, hereby covenants and agrees with the Secretary that during the

continuance of the said term she the said Emily Goodman

will teach and instruct the said Apprentice in the trade or calling of a servant

in the best manner in which she the

said

Emily Goodman

can, and will provide

and allow the said Apprentice good and sufficient meat, drink, lodging, apparel, medical attendance, and all other things necessary for the said Apprentice, and also permit the said Apprentice to attend some place of worship once on each Sunday. AND

FURTHER, that ~~she~~ the said *Emily Goodman* her executors or administrators will pay or cause to be paid to the said Apprentice

during the 1st year of the said term the sum of	<i>1/-</i>	per week,
and during the 2nd year of the said term the sum of	<i>1/6</i>	per week,
and during the 3rd year of the said term the sum of	<i>2/-</i>	per week,
and during the 4th year of the said term the sum of	<i>2/6</i>	per week,
and during the 5th year of the said term the sum of	<i>3/-</i>	per week.

AND FURTHER, that at the end of each quarter during the said Apprenticeship the said

Emily Goodman shall deposit a sum calculated at the rate of *1st 1/- 2nd 1/6 3rd 2/- 4th 2/6 5th 3/-* per week into the *State* Savings

Bank in the joint names of the said Apprentice and of the *Secretary* and the

money so paid into the Bank shall be for the sole use and benefit of the said Apprentice

on the expiration of her said Apprenticeship. PROVIDED that the said Apprentice shall diligently and faithfully demean ~~h~~ self during the said service. As witness

the hands and seals of the several parties to these presents the day and year first above written.

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the

Secretary in the presence of

Signed, sealed, and delivered by the

within named

Emily Goodman

Emily Goodman

in the presence of

G. Lipscombe

942

State School
Dorset

Mr Packer

Dear Sir

I wish to
Apply for a healthy girl out of
the neglected childrens department
over the age of 13 years. The girl
would be expected to help me
with household duties, She would
have a good home & well cared
for. I have 2 small children a boy
4 years & girl 2 years. I would like
a smart girl if there one procurable
as she would be treated as one
of the family. If you have one
to spare would you kindly send
particulars as soon as possible.

Yours faithfully
B. D. Smith

Mr B. D. Smith
State School
Dorset

C.L.

19th Febr., 1912.

Mrs. R. A. Smith,
State School,
LOVETT.

Dear Madam,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your application for a girl for service, and in reply regret to have to inform you that there are no girls available at the present time.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "W. B. Parker".

SECRETARY.

C.

18th March, 1912.

Mrs. R. A. Smith,

State School,

PORT CROMPTON,

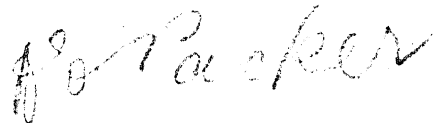
Dear Madam,

Last month you applied for the services of a girl from this Department, but there were none available at the time.

There is now one available, who may suit your requirements; she is about 13½ years of age, and appears to be a smart girl.

If you are still in need of a girl, and you think this one would meet with your requirements, please fill in particulars required by enclosed form, and return before Thursday next.

Yours faithfully,



SECRETARY
Neglected Childrens' Department,

TASMANIA.

NEGLECTED CHILDREN'S DEPARTMENT.

(60 Vict. No. 24.)

Application for a Girl for Service.

Applicant's Name in full *Robert Andrew Smith*
 Address *State School*
Levett.
 If Married or Single *Married*
 Religious Denomination of Applicant and Family *Church of England*
 Ages of Male Members of the Family or Household (if any) *(1) four years*
 Particulars of Sleeping Accommodation that will be provided *large well ventilated room upstairs.*
 Trade or Occupation *Head Teacher*
 Distance from nearest Township *in the Township of Levett*
 Distance from Church or Chapel *½ mile or under*

I, the undersigned, hereby agree, should my application be granted, to comply with the printed conditions indorsed hereon, and to pay for the services of the child that may be placed with me the weekly sum of _____ shillings for the first year with such increase annually thereafter as may be determined upon. I agree to forward a portion of such wages, viz., not less than at the rate of _____ per week, to the Secretary's Office quarterly (viz., at the end of March, June, September, and December), to be placed to the child's credit in the Post Office Savings Bank. I further agree to pay the balance to the child, and to see as far as possible that the sums so paid are judiciously expended by the child. I further agree to comply with the Regulations now made or that may hereafter be made under the *Neglected Children's Act*, for the placing of Wards of the Department at Service. I also agree to deliver up the said child when required to do so by order of the Secretary of the Department.

Notice.—Employers are requested not to allow Children placed with them to leave their service without authority from the Department.

Applicant's Signature *R. A. Smith* (1)

Dated *19.3.1912.*

CLERGYMAN'S CERTIFICATE. (2)

I am acquainted with Mr. *R. A. Smith* and Mrs. *R. A. Smith* abovementioned and certify that they are of the *Church of England* Denomination, and are in every respect fit and proper persons to be intrusted with the moral training of a child. Should a child be intrusted to their care, I agree to exercise pastoral oversight over her, to see that her moral training is duly attended to, and that she attends as regularly as possible at School as at Church.

W. Ratten
 Clergyman of the *Church of England*
 Address in full *Mark's Church, Levett*
 Date *Mar 20th 1912*

N.B.—(1) The receipt of this application will not necessarily result in a child being placed with the applicant, but when it is finally dealt with the result will be intimated to the applicant.

(2) This certificate should be completed and signed by a clergyman, or priest or having a pastoral charge in the district within which the applicant resides.

SERVICE CONDITIONS.

1. Every child placed at service shall be properly fed, clothed, and lodged by the person with whom such child is so placed, and also be provided with medical attendance and medicines when necessary.
2. Females placed at service, unless provided with sleeping accommodation within the main wall of the same building as the employer, shall sleep in a room with another female.
3. Children placed at service shall be allowed, where practicable, to attend regularly, Divine service and Sunday School; their moral training shall be duly cared for by the employer; and the clergyman of the denomination to which they belong, and any officer of the department, member of visiting committee, or other person appointed by the Government to visit them, shall be allowed to do so at reasonable hours.
4. Payment shall be made for the services rendered by any child placed at service, in accordance with the rate agreed on, and specified on the face of the application. The portion of the wages required to be sent to the office of the Secretary of the Department to be banked for the child is due at the end of each quarter, viz., on 31st March, 30th June, 30th September, and 31st December; and it is requested that it may be sent on those days without application by the Department.
5. Every person with whom a child has been placed at service shall, in the event of such child becoming seriously ill, dying, absconding, leaving, or meeting with any accident, send written information thereof at once to the office of the said Secretary. In the case of absconding, information to be given at the local police station, and in the case of serious illness the clergyman of the denomination to which the child belongs is to be at once communicated with.
6. In the event of change of residence by an employer of a child placed at service with him or her, written intimation thereof shall be at once sent to the office of the said Secretary. No such child shall be removed from the district within which it has been placed at service without the written consent of the said Secretary.
7. No child placed at service with any person shall be transferred to any other person without authority in writing for such transfer from the said Secretary.
8. No child placed at service with any person or under indenture of apprenticeship shall be taken out of the State, except with the consent of the Department.
9. The Department reserves the right of removing children whenever it may be deemed necessary to do so.

1st year of service, or age 13 to 14, 1/- wages & 1/- banked.
2nd year of service, or age 14 to 15, 1/6 wages & 1/6 banked.
3rd year of service, or age 15 to 16, 2/- wages & 2/- banked.
4th year of service, or age 16 to 17, 2/6 wages & 2/6 banked.
5th year of service, or age 17 to 18, 3/- wages & 3/- banked.

The wages to be paid weekly to the apprentice, and the amount banked to be forwarded to this office monthly or quarterly, and placed in the State Savings Bank, in the joint name of the Secretary and the apprentice.

From. R. A. Smith
State School
Lovett.

State School
Lovett
19th

Mr. Packer

Dear Sir

I think the
young girl you mention might
be of use to me. She is very
young, but perhaps she will get
on well here. Mr. Smith has filled
in the form in his name, but
I don't suppose it will make any
difference. If the little girl could
be sent out Saturday, by Reliance
to Port Cygnet, I could meet the
boat & take charge of her myself.

Yours faithfully
B. A. Smith

The Inspecting Nurse to arrange for Sylvia Jago to be
placed on board the S/S Reliance at 9.15 am. on Saturday next.
Passage order herewith.

R. E. Keckley

Secretary receipt.
21-3-12

C.I.

21st March, 1912.

Mrs. E. A. Smith,
State School,

P O R T C Y G N E T.

Dear Madam,

Sylvia Jago will leave Hobart for your
service per s.s. "Reliance" on Saturday next.
Please meet her or arrange for someone to take
charge of her on arrival at Port Cygnet.

Yours faithfully,

H. R. Packer

SECRETARY.

State School,
Lovett

23-3-12.

To

The Chief Secretary,
Neglected Children's Dept
Hobart.

Sir,

I beg to inform you that Sylvia
Jago arrived safely per "Reliance" on
Saturday (23rd inst) at Lovett.

Thanking you for the trouble you
have taken on my behalf.

I remain
Yours faithfully,
R. Smith.

Noted
H.E.T.
28/3/12

This Indenture made the 23rd day of March 1912 between

Harry Effingham Packer

being and as Secretary Neglected Children's Dept under the provisions of "The Youthful Offenders, Destitute and Neglected Children Act, 1896,"

(the said person being hereinafter called the Secretary), of the one part and

Mrs. R. A. Smith of

Port Cygnet of the other part, WITNESSETH that in exercise

of the powers conferred on the Secretary by the said Act, and in consideration of the payments to be made by the said Mrs. R. A. Smith

in manner hereinafter expressed, the Secretary hereby puts, places, and binds

who is a Sylvia Jago Ward of the Neglected Children's Department

and is of the age of 15 years or thereabouts,

as Apprentice to the said Mrs. R. A. Smith

to learn the trade or calling of a domestic servant

and with her to dwell, remain, and serve from the date of these presents until the

23rd day of November 1916 during all which time the said Apprentice shall faithfully serve her the said Mrs. R. A. Smith

and obey all her lawful commands, and shall not frequent any public-house or disorderly

house, nor absent her self from the service of the said Mrs. R. A. Smith

by day or night without her leave, but in all things as a faithful Apprentice shall

behave her self towards her the said Mrs. R. A. Smith

and all her family during the said term. AND the said Mrs. R. A.

Smith, in consideration of the faithful service so to be performed by

the Apprentice, hereby covenants and agrees with the Secretary that during the

continuance of the said term she the said Mrs. R. A. Smith

will teach and instruct the said Apprentice in the trade or calling of a domestic

servant in the best manner in which she the

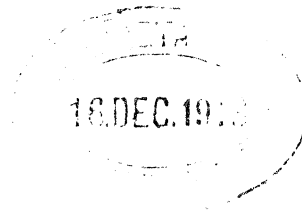
said Mrs. R. A. Smith can, and will provide

Police Office
Launceston

15th December 1913

H.E. Parker Esq

Sec N.E. Department
Hobart



Sir

On the 20th December 1910. A Girl named Elsie Jago, was Committed to the Industrial School, from the Launceston Police Court, for a term of 3 Years. Her Mother, now Mrs Connolly, has been to my office, wishing to know, if the Girl will be discharged in time to come home for Christmas. She states that she has written several letters and never received any reply.

Yours Respectfully
J. Montgomery
Sergeant No 97

10th December, 1913.

Memorandum


Sergeant Montgomery,

LATROBE.

Re Sylvia Jago.

This girl was committed to the Training School, New Town, on the 20th December, 1910, but, as there was no such School in existence, she was transferred to the care of the Department for Neglected Children, and, as a Ward of the Department was apprenticed to a piece of service until she attained the age of 18 years.

She is getting along very nicely in her situation, and I consider it would be a mistake to disturb her.

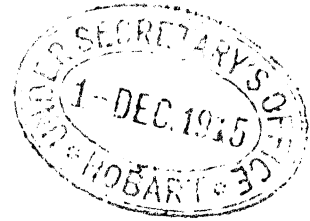

Actg. Secretary.

NEGLECTED CHILDREN'S DEPT.,

NOT
94 2

State school,
Gygnel
30-11-10.

To
The Secretary
Neglected Childrens' Dept.
Hobart.



Sir,

In regard to the girl Sylvia Jago. I'll give you a brief outline of her latest & also her general character & should like to know what course of action you advise.

On the 29th inst she put the children to bed at 8.30 P.M. & went (ostensibly) herself at 8.45. She then sneaked out taking Mrs Smith's cloth coat. Having discovered she was out, I tried to find her, ^{but} without success, so waited up till she came in at 3.00 A.M. on the 30th with Mrs Smith's coat ruined. Questioned as to her doings, she lied desperately. Further search revealed more of Mrs Smith's clothes worn & torn so I presume this is not the first offence.

General character.

Absolutely unreliable; a pilferer, liar, & disobedient girl; she is dirty, careless & destructive to everything. She comes in contact with her one redeeming feature being her kindness to children. My opinion is that the reformatory is the only place for her.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
R. A. Smith.

S.

7th December 1915

Dear Sir,

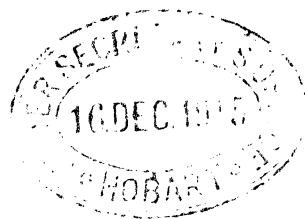
I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo regarding Sylvia Jago, and regret to hear that such a bad account of her. From the contents of your letter it would appear that the girl should be placed in some Institution, and I shall be pleased if you will return her to Hobart for that purpose. Please advise when she is likely to leave in order that she may be met on arrival of the steamer.

Yours faithfully,

dwa

Secretary
Neglected Children Department.

Mr. R. A. Smith,
State School,
CYGNET.



The Secretary,
Neglected Children's Dep't.,
Hobart.

Bygone L.,
15.12.15

Dear Sir,

Your memo re the girl Jago is safely to hand. I propose to return her at the end of the quarter & will notify you of exact date later. She has repeated her nocturnal rambles once & I find the children's money boxes are considerably short, one to the sum of 8/6 & another, that had the lock broken open, 9/3. As proof is, of course, lacking, I could not take any steps in the matter, but the reformatory is the proper place for her no doubt.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
R. Smith.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

i. Archives Office of Tasmania.

(a) State records

Attorney-General's Department
General correspondence (AGD1), 1920-1969.

Charitable Grants Department
Register of correspondence (SWD 30), c.1895-1922.

Chief Secretary's Department
General correspondence (CSD 22), 1897-1946.

Lower Courts - Hobart
Record of cases heard in the Childrens Court (LC 256),
1906-1932.

Department for Neglected Children
Correspondence relating to the custody and welfare of
children under the Youthful Offenders, Destitute and
Neglected Children Act 1896, and the Children's Charter
1918 (SWD1), 1896-1976.

Premier's Department
General correspondence (PD1), 1883-1946.

(b) Non-state records

Child Welfare Association: papers (NS 500), 1917-1976.

The National Council of Women of Tasmania: papers (NS 325),
1905-1971.

Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Tasmania: papers
(NS 337), 1892-1969.

ii. Official Published Sources

Neglected Children Department Annual Reports H.A.P. passim.

Statistics of Tasmania

Tasmanian Government Gazette

iii. Acts of Parliament

The Master and Servant Act 1887, 51 Vict. No. 3.

The Prevention of Cruelty and Protection of Children Act, 1895, 59 Vict. No. 10.

The Youthful Offenders, Destitute and Neglected Children Act, 1905, 5 Edw VII. No. 39.

The Infant Life Protection Act, 1907, 7 Edw VII. No. 51.

Interstate Destitute Persons Act 1910, 1 Geo V. No. 55.

The Children's Act 1918, 9 Geo V. No. 55.

Adoption of Children Act 1920, 11 Geo V. No. 5.

Mental Deficiency Act 1920, 11 Geo V. No. 55.

The Children's Charter 1921, 12 Geo V. No. 62.

The Children's Charter 1923, 13 Geo V. No. 21.

iv. Journals and Newspapers

The Clipper

Daily Post

The Examiner

The Lone Hand

The Mercury

The Tasmanian Mail

The Tasmanian News

v. Conference Publications

Australasian Conferences on Charity; Proceedings of the First (November 1890) and Second (November 1891), Government Printer, Melbourne, n.d.

Dependent Children, Interstate Congress of Workers Among Dependent Children, Adelaide, Government Printer, May 1909.

vi. Collected Documents

Daniels, K. and Murrane, M. Uphill all the way: A Documentary History of Women in Australia, St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1980.

SECONDARY SOURCES

i. Contemporary Works

Spence, C.H. State children in Australia: A History of Boarding Out and its Developments, Adelaide, Vardon and Sons Ltd., 1907.

ii. Modern Works

Barbalet, M. Far From a Low Gutter Girl: The Forgotten world of state wards - South Australia 1887-1940, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1983.

Barrett, M. and McIntosh, M. The Anti-social Family, London, Verso, 1982.

Brown, J. Poverty is not a Crime, Hobart T.H.R.A. 1972.

Davis, R. Eighty Years' Labor, Hobart, Sassafras Books, and the History Department, University of Tasmania, 1983.

Dickey, B. No Charity There, Melbourne, Nelson, 1980.

Donzelot, J. The Policing of Families, New York, Random House, 1979.

Lake, M. A Divided Society, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1975.

Solomon, R.J. Urbanisation - The Evolution of an Australian Capital, Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1976.

Stedman Jones, G. Outcast London. A study in the relationship between classes in Victorian Society. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971.

Thompson, E.P. The Making of the English Working Class, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1963.

iii. Collected Essays

- Baldock, C. and Cass, B. (eds.) Women, Social Welfare and the State, Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1983.
- Bevege, M., James, M. and Shute, C. (eds.) Worth Her Salt: Women at work in Australia, Sydney, Hale and Iremonger, 1982.
- Kennedy, R. Australian Welfare History: Critical Essays, Melbourne, Macmillan, 1982.
- MacKinolty, J. and Radi, H. (eds.) In Pursuit of Justice: Australian Women and the Law 1788-1979, Sydney, Hale and Iremonger, 1979.
- Mandle, W.F. and Osbourne, G. New History: Studying Australia Today, Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1982.
- Sydney Labour History Group What Rough Beast? The state and social order in Australian History, Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 1982.
- Windschuttle, E. (ed.) Women, Class and History, Melbourne, Fontana/Collins, 1980.

iv. Articles

- Duning, B. "Being Poor and Female in Colonial Western Australia: new perspectives on women's history", Hecate Vol III, No. 2, July 1977.
- Hart, P.R. "The Rev. Archibald Turnbull, Agitator" Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings Vol. 12 No. 1, Oct 1964.
- Lasch, C. "Life in the Therapeutic State" New York Review of Books, 12 June 1980.
- The Push From the Bush: A Bulletin of Social History, No. 3, May 1979.

v. Theses

- Reynolds, H. "The Island Colony, Tasmania: society and politics 1880-1900." MA Thesis, University of Tasmania, 1963.
- Taylor, A. "Mrs Henry Dobson: Victorian Do-gooder or Sincere Social Reformer", B.A. (Hons) Thesis, University of Tasmania, 1973.

vi. Research Aid

Wettenhall, R.L. A Guide to Tasmanian Government Administration,
Hobart, Platypus Publications, 1968.